



GUERRILLA NOTES

**Documents and Analysis
From the Illegal Front**

SOLIDARITY WITH THE GUERRILLA

We have printed the following declarations and communiques as an act of solidarity with the guerillas of Europe. Although we recognize the revolutionary nature of the feminist, autonomist and other radical movements, we believe that armed struggle must be taken up in the Western world if we hope to build a revolutionary movement capable of an offensive against the State. It is in the interests of the police-state that we condemn and withdraw support from our sisters and brothers who have taken up arms against imperialism just as it is in the interests of the police-state that we condemn those that choose un-armed forms of militant struggle ie. squatting, demos etc. We must recognize the enemy and support the different struggles against it.

The enemy, imperialism, takes many forms. It rapes and destroys the environment, starves, alienates, imprisons and deprives us of our humanity, gives us cancer, locks us up in suburban nightmares, inflicts holocausts, and makes sexist pigs out of us. We must recognize that this enemy is armed and violent. Even if we are not involved in armed actions ourselves, we must maintain active solidarity with the guerillas that are.

Although we do not agree with every aspect of the political ideology expressed in these declarations, it is nevertheless important that the politics of the guerilla be available. Photocopy or reprint this pamphlet and pass it on to those that will learn from it and ACT upon it.

25.6.81

RAF HUNGERSTRIKE

IRISH REPUBLICAN SOCIALIST PARTY;

SOLIDARITY WITH GERMAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

The Irish Republican Socialist Party extends greetings to all German political prisoners. Like our comrades in Long Kesh and Armagh jail, the prisoners in West Germany are fighting for similar demands - for the abolition of solitary confinement; for free association and for treatment and conditions as laid down by the Geneva Convention.

Like our comrades in British and Irish jails, the West German prisoners are imprisoned because of their political actions and their political beliefs. All are opposed to imperialism - to the exploitation of one nation by another and the exploitation of one class by another. All carry their opposition to imperialism to its logical conclusion.

In its struggle for survival, imperialism strives to label those who would destroy it as criminals. Those who oppose imperialism are subjected to terror, torture, imprisonment and murder (as in the case of our comrades Hugh Ferguson, Brendan MacNamee, Danny Loughran, Colm McNutt, Seamus Costello, Tommy Trainor, Kevin Trainor, Tony McClelland, Rodney McCormack, Miriam Daly, Ronnie Bunting and Noel Lyttle) by imperialism and the agents of reaction.

Despite the torture and murder, our struggle will continue until imperialism and native capitalism is defeated and our people free.

We salute the German political prisoners in their struggle which we know to be of importance not just to the people of Germany but also for the struggle against imperialism throughout the world.

To the German political prisoners we say:

Your struggle is our struggle!

Our struggle is yours!

Beir Bua! (Happy New Year)

Venceremos!

The Ard Comhairle
(Executive Committee)

I R S P

17.12.80

HUNGERSTRIKE DECLARATION OF THE RAF

The people's solidarity is grounded in the movement of revolt.

We, the prisoners of the RAF, have restarted our collective hungerstrike.

We shall not stop fighting against the torture, overt and covert extermination, the whole institutionalized strategy to destroy our identity, which is today being reinforced against us.

We shall not let the state attain its goal; their calculation consists, on the one hand, of destroying by force the unity and collective structure of the group through an intentionally and systematically segregated detention programme - total isolation, isolation in small groups in perfected special security units, or sham integration - and on the other hand of protecting itself against the national and international public protests of the International Commission and even Amnesty International. It will not succeed because our concrete experience that this state is ready and able to carry out no matter what brutality was part of the conditions for our decision to stand up and arm ourselves.

Isolated as we have been from one another for years now, isolated from all collective process and the outside world, we are determined to break this separation by employing the only effective means we have - unlimited collective hungerstrike - and to fight for conditions in which we would be able to take part in a collective learning and working process in order to survive as human beings.

We demand:

The minimum guarantees of the Geneva Convention for prisoners of war be applied to the prisoners of the RAF and other anti-imperialist resistance groups.

This means:

- regroupment in conditions where interaction would be

possible, i.e. in groups of no less than 15 political prisoners. This would exclude that electronic perfection which permits the visual and aural surveillance of communication within isolation units where not only the air is conditioned but also light and sound. And this implies the control and surveillance of prison conditions by an International Commission.

- the liberation of Gunter Sonnenburg, because his continued detention makes recovery impossible from his head wounds.

Nor does the struggle stop in prison. The objectives don't vary, only the means and the terrain where the guerilla/state conflict - war - is waged. Thus, in our situation: imprisoned and unarmed, the state reacts against a collective hungerstrike as if against an armed attack.

When you see the measures used against us, there is no ambiguity: we are prisoners of war with the status of hostages. At each escalation of the confrontation, an imprisoned cadre of the RAF was executed: Holger, Seigfried, Ulrike. When the politico-military offensive of the RAF plainly showed the failure of the huge repressive effort, aimed at exterminating the RAF by all possible means, the special coordination committee of the US National Security Council decided on the final solution. The execution of Andreas, Gudrun, Jan, Ingrid and our brothers and sisters of the Martyr Halimeh Commando.

With them, it wanted to destroy every trace of their struggle, their example and the continuity of the struggle. "Snuff out the flame before it becomes a forest fire" in order to snatch all hope of liberation from the people here in the metropolises. The torture and murder of political prisoners, like the executions in the open street, are no longer just a police tactic in this state which really is the successor to the Third Reich: its aims and means have remained identical.

For German imperialism's present onslaught, its third, with, rather than against US capital, not independently

but as a function of American foreign policy - a global domestic policy -, it is imperative to liquidate the militant prisoners and the whole resistance movement, that's to say those who raise the question of power and attack directly, right here, the heart of the US system of States - the economic, political and military point of depart for America's aggressive policy since 1945.

The torture and murder of political prisoners and the killer squads in Turkey, Ireland, Italy and Spain originate from Nato Supreme Command, who want to impose this as a centralized domestic policy for the whole of Europe through the BKA and other intelligence services. This is the same supreme command who, in the latest "NATO Review", openly remind governments that there must be no question of taking into consideration demands for political status or for international inquiries on the torture of militant prisoners, and that they must respect the other already-agreed directives concerning the strategy of criminalization of revolutionary resistance.

Against the human face of the resistance which grew on the scorched earth of the bourgeois resistance and the German Workers movement - from the naive humanism of the pacifist ban-the-bomb movement, through the youth revolts and the Vietnam opposition to the urban guerilla war - they set the inhuman face of massacre, because humanity disturbs their solution, to present brutality, misery, the total violence of property and genocide as "the cultural tasks of humanity". They project their crimes onto the the guerillas - "poisoned drinking water, nuclear contamination, deadly bacteria" - to divert the fear that they themselves produce so that no resistance can possibly develop out of a perception of the real origins of these crimes. The culmination of the hunt against the RAF at present is to prevent at all costs militant protest - against the armament, the militarisation in all fields, and the deployment of the federal army in the streets, which are to bring Germany back from where it had been driven 35 years ago - from declaring its solidarity with the guerillas and drawing exactly the same conclusion as we did.

that illegality is the liberated zone of the resistance in Western Germany, that militant protest creates its own capacity to act.

The state's reaction shows its weakness and vulnerability, and the possibility for us to accelerate the process of decomposition by continual attacks and to transform it into a "real state of seige"; we cannot determine the process of transformation into a fascist state - in which the state of siege is legalized - since it is inevitable.

Since capital is now creating the conditions for its own aggressive reconstruction on a world scale, we must - all of us who want liberation, responsibility and a human way of acting - get sufficiently prepared in the countries from which this violent expansion springs, to prevent the realization of their project; we have to develop in this phase the political and military counter-power, and so define a "political frontier" which can prevent the military use of US imperialism's overkill potential, in order to ultimately destroy it.

If the militant left can learn what imperialism has always had to learn anew through each of its defeats - that its power ends at the point where its violence no longer succeeds in intimidating - it will have laid bare the whole secret of the apparent invincibility of imperialism.

Solidarity excludes constraint and it cannot be cancelled like a credit arrangement. It is the practical expression of each person's consciousness that there is no contradiction between individual and collective liberation, as the pathetic apologists of the satisfaction of individual needs believe, but a dialectical relation - just as liberation here cannot be separated from the liberation struggle of the peoples of the Third World.

Solidarity becomes reality and power as proletarian internationalism, which means attacking the common enemy, US imperialism, in its strategic positions, there where each one of us is up against it; solidarity is

the basis on which the anti-imperialist battle-lines will be united.

Our hungerstrike is an expression of solidarity:

- with the prisoners of IRA and INLA and their long and determined struggle for political status
- with the prisoners of the Brigade Rosse, their struggle against the strategy of extermination, in which they have seized the political initiative
- with all prisoners from the anti-imperialist resistance in Western Europe, especially in Turkey
- with the struggle of the palestinian prisoners for prisoner of war status
- with all prisoners who have begun to resist in prison and who are fighting to organize themselves.

ARM THE RESISTANCE

ORGANIZE ILLEGALITY

ORGANIZE ARMED RESISTANCE IN WESTERN EUROPE

The prisoners of the RAF, 6.2.81

3. Feb. 1981 - INTERNATIONAL MOBILIZATION FOR THE FALN-11

Text of the banner:

- 3. Feb. '81: International Solidarity with the FALN-11 - Puerto-Rican P.O.W.s in the USA
- Treatment in accordance with the Geneva Convention!
- Concentration of the RAF-Prisoners to groups!
- Unity in the worldwide struggle against US-imperialism!
- Yankees out!

* * *

On February 3rd, 1981, we fixed this banner on the fence of the Dusseldorf US-Consulate to express our

solidarity with the struggle of imprisoned revolutionaries.

The FALN-Prisoners who have already received high sentences for 'criminal offences' in the US are now confronted with a second trial and an obvious political charge because of 'seditious conspiracy' against the US.

The FALN is a clandestine organization fighting inside the US for Independence and Socialism of Puerto Rico. The FALN attacks US-Imperialism in its back country, organizes the second front of the Puerto Rican liberation struggle for the expulsion of the colonial occupants from the island.

The ones who are captured in this struggle are P.O.W.s and demand to be treated according to the Geneva Convention. The importance of this demand leaves no doubt: in 1979, Angel Rodriguez Christobal was murdered in North American solitary confinement because he defended this position in his trial in an offensive way.

We - who are daily confronted with the war-greedy military apparatus and the plastic ideology of the corrupt 'american way of life' of the US occupants - start seeing the context between the Puerto Rican liberation struggle and our struggle here in Western Europe: For the new US military strategy Puerto Rico is a base and NATO maneuver territory with a central importance. The intervention forces for El Salvador are stationed in Vieques (P.R.) and Panama. In Puerto Rico the US can station nuclear weapons in the Caribbean Sea without any control. The Puerto Rican independence struggle has a strategic importance for the worldwide anti-imperialist movement because of the armed resistance inside the heart of US Imperialism.

In the same way the guerilla in West Germany (FRG) sets up the anti-imperialist perspective in the back country of imperialism and takes the enemy in the rear. The guerilla struggles in solidarity with the liberation struggles of the 3rd world peoples and for the worldwide liberation of all peoples.

The prisoners of the Red Army Faction (RAF) also demand 'Treatment as P.O.W.s in accordance with the Geneva Convention'. Since Feb. 2nd, '81 they have been on hungerstrike for this and the following demands:

- Concentration of the political prisoners to groups
- Control of the prison conditions by an international independent commission
- Immediate release of Guenther Sonnenburg (Gunter (RAF) was heavily wounded when he was captured by police in 1977. Since then he has been held in total solitary confinement. To heal his head injury he has to be released immediately because he doesn't receive adequate medical treatment.)

Many other prisoners in different prisons are also on hungerstrike for their own demands. To a great extent these prisoners joined the hungerstrike in solidarity with the political prisoners.

UNITY IN THE WORLDWIDE STRUGGLE AGAINST US IMPERIALISM:

* * *

The above leaflet was translated by AKAS.

DECLARATION OF THE RELATIVES DURING THE OCCUPATION OF
THE 'SPIEGEL' OFFICE

We, mothers and relatives of the prisoners of the anti-imperialist groups are here in order to draw attention to the increasingly threatening situation in the prisons of the FRG, Australia and Switzerland and in order to remind the press on their duty to inform. Our relatives and together with them a lot of other prisoners, on Feb. 2nd started again the collective hungerstrike against solitary confinement and the destruction of their health and identity within the prisons. They will be on hungerstrike until their demands for association will be implemented. Thus they will continue their fight for better prison conditions, a fight they already fought from 20.4.79 to 26.6.79 and which they only interrupted to await the results of numerous initiatives that have been started to better their prison conditions. We know and the state also was aware of it - that this hungerstrike would be continued, because the destructive prison conditions have not changed.

Now that the people who are responsible for the special treatment of the political prisoners in the FRG - under the motto: at first recant and afterwards better prison conditions - didn't differ from their scientifically proven and technically perfect system of imprisonment, aimed at destroying the prisoners, the authorities made the prison conditions worse (permanently). Due to this, the prisoners took as their ultimate means their health, their lives for fighting isolation. Against the different levels of isolation: solitary confinement, isolation within small groups and the most brutal form, the high security wing.

The high security wing is violence.

We, the relatives, after years of visiting our children know what this special treatment means: No prisoner is able to survive the unlimited isolation.

We are behind our children all the way. We demand of the press to finally write the truth about the situation in the prisons and to publish the demands of the hungerstrikers.

We also know, that these demands and the hungerstrike itself has been criminalized. Sabine Schmitz is one of us, she has worked for better prison conditions together with us. Now she as well as Johannes Thimme has been arrested under the charge of issuing leaflets, she is now imprisoned in Stammheim 7th floor. All this we remembered having happened before, during the time of fascism, when people were taken to concentration camps for handing out leaflets and many were murdered.

This is why we are here today, to protect against the attempts to intimidate, against persecution, against threats, against the arrest, against the criminalization of lawyers. We are here to protect our relatives within the prisons.

We are also in solidarity with all families of political prisoners in other countries, especially with the relative groups in the basque country, Euscadi, whose relatives have been on hungerstrike since the murder

of a prisoner; and with the relatives of the political prisoners in Northern Ireland. The Irish political prisoners on March 1st again took up their hungerstrike they interrupted in December.

We ask all people, who think and feel as we do, to support our action and to publicize the demands of our relatives: (list).

Hamburg, 4th of March 1981
Relatives of Political Prisoners

WOMEN FOR THE CRISIS

Today, 7th March is International Women's Day, a day of solidarity and struggle for women all over the world.

We want it to be a day where all women who struggle in the four corners of the continents can be together in spite of the enormous distances which actually separate us. Be together so that we can gather our strength so as to continue tomorrow's fight in spite of the weaknesses and problems, and so see our objective more clearly before us, the victory - the liberation of all oppressed peoples. Be together so that we can demonstrate our real solidarity towards our imprisoned and wounded comrades, remember tenderly our comrades who have lost their lives in this struggle for our liberation, give courage to our comrades in clandestinity and strength to those, not yet with us, who will join us.

In Africa, Asia, Latin America, the USA and Europe the enemy is the same aggressor, invader, exploiter, oppressor - and here social democracy - under the flag of US imperialism, known throughout the world for its massacres.

We don't want to demonstrate "against the crisis" because the real crisis is our resistance against the state. The more our struggle develops, the more the crisis is aggravated; and that's why the State tries to integrate us into the system, in order to resolve its own problems, crush our resistance, and

negate our identity as women fighting for their liberation. Thus they even plan women's integration into the ranks of the army, for the execution of NATO's aggressive plans; as a reserve army and as cannon fodder and by bringing token women into the higher instances of the State, a guarantee of patriarchal and imperialist politics and a maintenance of the calculated rivalry between men and women.

Each day we are confronted with isolation and especially the isolation between men and women in all that concerns our daily life: programmed and "constructed" isolation at the office, in the factory, in the family, as in the housing estates in which we shut ourselves, our desires, our possibilities and our dreams. The fact that we don't find ourselves together is the essential condition for the capitalists here in the metropolises to satisfy their thirst for domination. Their aim is to disperse the different struggles and prevent all solidarity between those who struggle. What they are also trying to prevent at any price is the solidarity between us and our brothers and sisters of the 3rd World who are fighting, solidarity which is essential for victory and for the pursuit of the 3rd World revolutions and equally essential for our own liberation.

As we experience this and as it's made clear each time people - or a people - stand up and resist with their own arms (in Salvador as in Euskadi or in West Germany), it really is a war which US imperialism, its financial powers, its military brutality and its servants here in Europe or in the 3rd World wage against us and all peoples of the world.

This war against the 3rd World peoples is being waged from the metropolises in which we live. The aggression against 3rd World peoples is being decided and prepared in the USA and Europe and this aggression is being directed, in particular today, against the people of El Salvador. It's a question of our own liberation because if imperialism wants to carry out its murderous projects successfully, it has to count on the absence of all resistance

in its own states, the acquiescence of all those who could destabilise it from inside. For this purpose, the measures of war here are either preventive: computer files on every person, the Peyrefitte project etc., or else the State openly reveals its real nature against those who attack it directly - the guerillas. Against the guerillas, it employs here the same war methods as in El Salvador, as everywhere: torture and murder, as in the case of Holger, Siegfried, Katherina, Ulrike, Andreas, Gudrun, Jan Ingrid and Irmgard in West German prisons, Frank Stagg in England or recently Jose Arregui in Spain and the executions in West Germany of Willy Stoll and Elisabeth von Dyck in the open street.

Everywhere in Europe, militant guerilla prisoners are resisting and continuing their struggle. As in Italy recently, militant guerilla prisoners in Ireland, Spain and West Germany are also on hungerstrike.

And women in prison resist too.

At the moment, for more than a month the imprisoned fighters of the RAF have been struggling in this way for their political identity, the continuity of their struggle and of the group which the State seeks to destroy by the use of torture through isolation. (In solidarity and also with their own demands, 200 common law prisoners are also on hunger strike).

One of these prisoners, Christine Kuby explains that

"the reaction of the state in crisis towards the guerilla women is explicable. It tries to destroy this possibility of orientation by projecting its hierarchial structures onto the guerillas and by slandering the guerrilla women by attributing to them the role of women in capitalist society." Gudrun once said on this subject: "for the State the role and the image of women for capital is that of a docile victim, powerless and pathological, an image which the militant woman destroys; and in order to restore this image, it has to say that

her decision to fight in the guerilla, her rupture with the violence and the mystifications of the old class, are accidental and pathological, a product of chance, illness and lastly of threat and blackmail within the group. Thus the women's situation in the guerilla is presented as a relation of property, the men's role as the same old misery and the struggle for liberation as absurd".

For us the difference between men and women can become a dynamic force, impossible to master, when we want the same thing, when we pursue a common goal. We've not only learned that without women's participation in the revolutions of Vietnam, Algeria, Cuba, Mozambique and Angola, these revolutions wouldn't have been possible but also and especially that in revolutionary war, the relation itself between men and women begins to be transformed.

Also, the political prisoners' isolation can only be broken once we decide to take up the struggle here and develop a continuity of resistance in the metropolises.

- a text written for International Women's Day
by French militant women.

WE WANTED TO TELL YOU
OUR BROTHERS
THAT WE DID NOT CHEAT YOU,
BUT THE SOCIETY HAS CHEATED US
THE OPPRESSORS HAVE SOWN
SEEDS OF OPPRESSION WITHIN US,
SO THAT YOU OPPRESS US
AND WE OPPRESS YOU

WE WANTED TO SHOW YOU
OUR BROTHERS
WHEN WE TOOK THE CHILD
ON ONE SHOULDER,
THE GUN ON THE OTHER,
THAT WE HAVE BROKEN WITH THEM
AND THAT YOU MUST DO THE SAME

WE WANTED TO CRY TO YOU
OUR BROTHERS
THAT YOU MUST LIFT US
UP ON OUR FEET
AS WE LIFTED YOU
AND TAUGHT YOU HOW TO WALK

WE WANTED TO ASK YOU
OUR BROTHERS
TO TAKE YOUR PART
OF OUR BURDEN
AS WE HAVE TAKEN OUR PART
OF YOURS

BUT NOW WE DEMAND OF YOU
OUR COMRADES
NOT TO TAKE PART ANY MORE
IN THE GAME OF THE OPPRESSORS,
NOT TO ALLOW YOURSELVES
TO STRIKE US
WHEN THEY STRIKE YOU

WE DEMAND OF YOU
THAT WE GO TOGETHER
ON THE SAME ROAD
AND IN THE SAME STEP

- Leila, a Palestinian guerilla

DECLARATION OF RELATIVES OF THE POLITICAL PRISONERS IN
THE FRG WHO OCCUPIED THE GOETHE INSTITUTE IN AMSTERDAM
ON MARCH 23rd, 1981

Once again the Federal Republic of Western Germany is determined to kill political prisoners.

Our relatives are in danger of dying, even the authorities admit that, but they say: "We are only going to negotiate when the hungerstrike stops" (Rebrmann, Federal Attorney). They say this after doctors have stated that for some of the prisoners there is no chance for survival. We know that torture is practiced within the Federal Republic. The death of prisoners is planned.

The political prisoners have been on hungerstrike for eight weeks now. They fight against destruction and they demand association in groups so that no prisoner is in total isolation anymore.

Just as in fascism, people are being arrested today for handing out leaflets with the prisoners' demands. Doctors are being offered money to get them to perform forcefeeding. The demands are being ignored. Why is this so?

The FRG is an imperialist state that supports military dictatorships, that supplies weapons to reactionary systems like Chile, Argentina, Turkey, Brazil and South Africa.

Within the EG the FRG applies pressure on the countries belonging to NATO in order to push through the aggressive war-politics of the USA; more weapons, the stationing of atomic missiles.

At the same time, this state, the FRG, puts up a 'human face'. The FRG uses all means to hide its true interests, to hide its true face.

The Gothe Institute is set up to transport the German culture abroad. The stationing of nuclear missiles and German culture belong together. German culture means: the destruction of resistance. This is why we have occupied this German institution.

The prisoners of the RAF fight the aggressive, inhuman imperialist politics even within jail. This is why the federal government would rather have the prisoners die than grant them their demands. But we want to have the demands granted to the prisoners immediately!!

RELATIVES OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE FRG

WHY THIS ACTION? WHY THIS OCCUPATION?

The prisoners from the RAF in West Germany are in collective hungerstrike since 02.02.81. We thought this would be reason enough for the left weekly press to give its attention to the situation in West Germany.

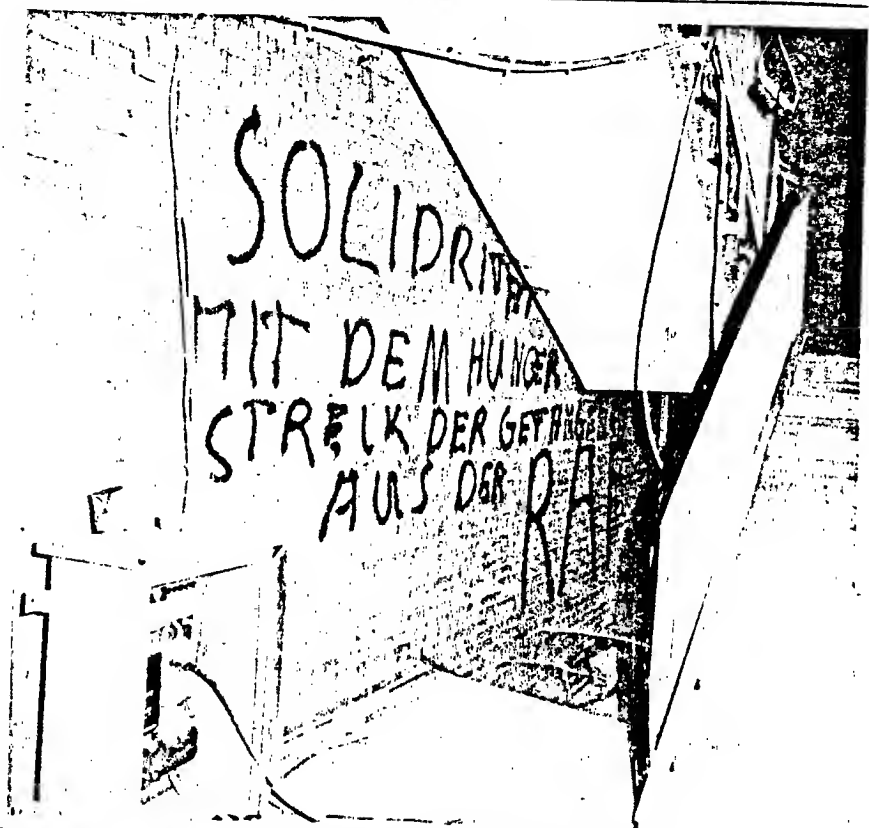
In fact it's the contrary: the whole of the so-called leftist press is guilty of a deadly silence concerning the facts and background of the hunger-strikers from the RAF.

So we wrote an article ourselves and offered it to Nieuwe Linie. Their answer was that there's not enough room for a long article this week, but they could insert a small paragraph; maybe next week a longer article could be published, but only if it's well written. Thus we wrote a small article which contained facts about the development of the hunger strike and the actions made in West Germany to support the hungerstrikers' demands. These demands are:

- treatment for these prisoners corresponding to the minimum guarantees of the Geneva Convention for prisoners of war, i.e.
- regroupment in conditions where interaction would be possible, i.e. in groups of no less than 15 political prisoners.
- the control and surveillance of prison conditions by an international commission.
- the liberation of Gunther Sonnenberg, because his continued detention after his head wounds, makes his recovery impossible.

We were promised that the small article would be published, but according to the journalist, it wasn't written well enough, nobody could be reached by it. She had started to re-write it, but hadn't enough time, and such shit excuses kept being repeated. In any case, no article appeared in "Nieuwe Linie" this week although they know that it's important and that people are dying.

This direct action is aimed at bringing to light the facts which "Nieuwe Linie" is purposefully keeping secret, because by keeping silent, the German state is able to carry out its murder plans on the prisoners without being disturbed, and we



then let the imprisoned comrades perish. The hungerstrike has been going on now for more than 7 weeks, and has reached a critical phase. During these 7 weeks, Nieuwe Linie hasn't taken any initiative to publish information about the hungerstrike; neither "Vrij Nederland" and the "Groene". Thus the progressive weekly's in Holland voluntarily co-operate with the black-out established by the BKA!

This press's attitude signifies for us: a deliberate death sentence for the prisoners by its silence.

During the last big collective hungerstrike of imprisoned guerillas in West Germany, in the spring of 79, we also offered an article to Nieuwe Linie: it was exactly the same. We were kept hanging on for four weeks with the same kind of stupid excuses.

In reality, 'Nieuwe Linie' doesn't want to publish the contents of the hungerstrike. They refuse to publish concrete facts, because concrete information means that one thinks about what is happening in West Germany and in the rest of Western Europe, about guerilla policy in Western Europe, and finally, to act.

They have the impertinence to regard themselves as sincere:

- in the past, they have only used the hungerstrikes to fill their columns and to construct a beautiful progressive image, up to the moment where they thought that it could become dangerous for them, and then selfcensorship was established.

- everything that has been published by Nieuwe Linie, concerning the prison situation in western europe, has always been handled in a pitiful manner. A political analysis of the situation in west germany as well as western europe has always been painstakingly avoided.

So, above all, it's not permitted to declare political solidarity with the prisoners.

We shit on these social democrats.

- only broken prisoners, who try to improve their own prison conditions on the backs of their former comrades, are extensively interviewed, quoted, and granted the power of speech like Mahler and Zahl (as planned for the special number of april 2.)

This is the policy of the pigs: to present turned prisoners in order to prove that anti-imperialist struggle would be impossible and wrong, (except of course, in far away countries, and with regard to these countries, the social democrats and the moral minded catholics and calvininists are able to calm their consciences by being indignant).

We carry out this action against this policy of the pigs and against this pig-journalism.

We now occupy 'Nieuwe Linie' with the same right and for exactly the same reasons we could also have occupied the offices of the 'Perscombinatie', 'Vry Nederland', 'De Groene', 'Amsterdammer', or the 'Haagse Post'...

DEATH TO THE PIG SYSTEM

SOLIDARITY WITH THE PRISONERS FROM THE RAF -
SUPPORT THEIR DEMANDS

CONSTRUCT THE UNITY IN THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST
STRUGGLE IN WESTERN EUROPE

We demand;

the immediate publication of the article entitled "background information on the hungerstrike of the prisoners from the RAF," in Nieuwe Linie of 02.04.81.

Amsterdam, march 26, 1981

communiqué after the occupation of
the Nieuwe Linie newspaper offices
by Dutch militants.

STATEMENT FROM 'WOMEN AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR'

Just a few pieces of information on what has happening in Hamburg concerning the hungerstrike lately:

In Hamburg we had a huge womens' conference last week, about 5000 women attended. It was planned as a sort of womens' school for a week, very different women came and a lot of topics were discussed. We as the group 'WOMEN AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR' held two seminars on 'feminism as revolutionary politics'. The meetings were well attended (about 100 women came to each meeting) and we had a good discussion.

Then one day the Hamburg Senator of Justice, Mrs. Leithäuser, came to the conference to hold a meeting on women in jails. We had heard of her coming and decided that we did not want her to speak at the womens' conference, as she is the one directly responsi-

ble for two political prisoners in jail in Hamburg being forcefed and she is also one of the people responsible for prison conditions in general, being one of the authorities we wanted to attack but not talk to. We had discussed this with quite a few women and reached the conclusion that we were not going to let her speak but have a meeting on the hungerstrike instead. So when she arrived at the conference we told her to go away, which she did after a bit of hassel. We then held a meeting on the hungerstrike which was very good, about 200 women attended and we saw a videotape that was made when the prisoners' relatives occupied the SPIEGAL building at the beginning of the hungerstrike. This is a very good, powerful movie; the prisoners relatives, mostly mothers, describe the prison conditions of their children and how they think and feel about it (and how they subsequently think about the state that administers these conditions). The movie led to a very good discussion on the strike, on the political prisoners and on the question of solidarity. We then decided to make a spontaneous demo and go to the NDR (a radio station) to demand the movie being broadcast on TV. It was a very good demo, 300 women, and a lot of power. We then wrote a resolution to be passed on the last day of the conference and it was passed with great support from the women present. It was a very good experience for us to talk to all the women we had not known before and to make the demo together with them. Some of them will be working with us now. We include a translation of the resolution passed on the last day of the conference.

Otherwise the situation remains unchanged, the prisoners' state of health gets worse every day, the support gets stronger but the authorities will not relent. We think that pressure from abroad is really necessary and we are including a list of addresses we ask you to send letters (or telegrams, because its much quicker) of protest to. We really ask you urgently to do so, the situation is desperate.

So long, Women Against Imperialist War, Hamburg, 3.4.1981

RESOLUTION PASSED ON THE LAST MEETING OF THE HAMBURG
WEEK FOR WOMEN ADDRESSED TO THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERA-
TION OF WOMEN; THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD'S COUNCIL
FOR PEACE

Since the beginning of February, 30 political prisoners in the FRG have been on hungerstrike. Their situation, after 54 days now, has become dangerous. Many of them are already so weak that they can't receive visits anymore, neither from the lawyers, nor from anybody else. Siglinde Hoffman and Knut Folkerts have been removed from Stuggard-Stammheim to the psychiatric prison Hohenasberg in order to be forcedfed.

Knut Folkerts has let his father know that he is counting on his death any day now.

The prisoners are determined to get their demands granted with this hungerstrike - they are risking their lives for that. They demand the minimal guarantees of the Geneva Convention to be applied to them, the association of prisoners under conditions that enable them to live as humans; this means the abolition of total isolation, a method that in the long run destroys a person; they also demand the release of Gunther Sonnenberg, who has a serious brain damage as a result of a head-wound he received when he was arrested, and of Verena Becker, who has open tuberculosis. Both of them can only get well outside a prison.

Ever since there have been prisoners of the guerilla, the Social Democratic government has done everything to destroy their identity, to break the prisoners, to thus demonstrate the omnipotence of the state. What the state wants to do is to suggest to all of us, inside and outside the walls, the uselessness of resistance. The ideas of the prisoners shall, the state wants, be forgotten, their bodies destroyed. 24 hours on their own, 23 hours within the cells - special wire at the windows - thick glass walls and windows - special prisons; writing letters forbidden - visits forbidden - special selection of lawyers - intimidation of visitors -- isolation is torture!!

Against this torture the prisoners set their conscientious fight even within the prisons - to fight for a human society, against exploitation, repression and destruction.

On March 22, 1981 the federal attorney Rebmann said to relatives and lawyers of the prisoners that he will not give in to the prisoners' demands. Authorities and doctors have told the parents of Gabriel Rollnick and Knut Folkerts that they should prepare themselves for the death of their children. This makes it perfectly clear that the FRG is again determined to kill prisoners. We know this practice from the times of fascism, when millions of political prisoners were killed within the concentration camps and with this practice the continuity from Hitler's fascism to the FRG becomes clear. Again distributors of leaflets get arrested in Germany, people who say the truth about the prison conditions of political prisoners and who make them public and who support their demands.

During the Womens' Week in Hamburg, a lot of us have seen the movie on the occupation of the Speigal building by relatives of the political prisoners (the prisoners with this occupation tried to break the total ban on news that hung over the hungerstrike).

Out of solidarity with the relatives' action and out of shock and concern about the prison conditions of the political prisoners, we held a spontaneous march to the building of the NDR (300 women went to demand the film being shown and news of the hungerstrike broadcasted.)

We support the demands of the political prisoners on hungerstrike and ask you to intervene with the federal government and the district authorities of justice on behalf of the hungerstrikers. At the same time we ask you to intervene with the Red Cross and the UN on behalf of the prisoners.

INLA PRISONER SOLIDARITY LETTER

This is a copy of a letter of solidarity smuggled out of Long Kesh to the RAF prisoners on Hungerstrike, from Patsy O'Hara, an I.N.L.A. Hungerstriker who later died due to the intransience of the British authorities.

Comrades,

I take this opportunity to express my support and solidarity on your hungerstrike to attain political recognition, for a number of years I have followed your struggle and have always had the greatest respect and admiration for your stand against imperialism and native capitalism. I believe we have a lot in common in many ways, I too am on Hungerstrike with my comrades for Political Status.

Our present prison struggle has continued for the last 4½ years with 500 Irish Republican Socialist prisoners engaged in protest action (in the form of a blanket), no wash action because we refused to accept the removal special category status (Political Status in everything but name). This meant we were told to do prison work and wear prison uniform while another 500 prisoners enjoyed the right to special category status in the cages of Long Kesh. Of course we refused to be criminalised and so the regime placed us in special isolation blocks, in cells with nothing but blankets.

I am sure you are well aware of our struggle as I am of yours. Suffice to say that the British government used every possible means to break our resolve, employing inhuman and degrading treatment and mental torture. The stakes are high, if they had succeeded they would have shown the national liberation struggle in Northern occupied Ireland to the world as nothing more than an armed conspiracy. But the determination and the will to resist was strong and still is, rather than face the prospect of another four years of the hell we decided to bring the issue to a climax. The only option left open to us was a Hungerstrike which began on the 27th of October last year.

At its height, 40 men and women participated, on the 53rd day the British made it clear that our five demands would be implemented if and when the Hungerstrike ended. The Hungerstrike was called off only hours before the first man would have died. We knew it would take some time to implement the changes but as days turned into weeks we realized we had been outmanouvred. So once again we were left with no choice but to Hungerstrike.

I believe to achieve our aspirations of socialism we cannot confine it to our national boundaries. By its very nature we must be internationalist in our outlook, revolutionary organizations must co-operate towards this goal, the ending of exploitation of man by man. We stand for the rights of mankind and nothing must divert us from our objectives.

On behalf of myself and other I.N.L.A./I.R.S.P. prisoners on the blanket protest, we send our warmest greetings and hope that your protest is successful without loss of life. It is not those that inflict the most but those who endure the most achieve the final victory.

To the R.A.F. prisoners on Hungerstrike in West Germany.

Patsy O'Hara, H-Block 5 Long Kesh

HAMBURG DOCTORS' SOLIDARITY LETTER

This is an open letter, signed by 20 Doctors in Hamburg (it is being sent around so more Doctors can sign) to the authorities responsible for prison conditions, copies also went to Amnesty International, London and to the Human Rights Commission, Geneva.

As you know, numerous prisoners have been on hungerstrike since February 2nd. They are fighting against the destructive prison conditions they are subject to, some of them for years now. Increasingly they are being systematically isolated in special wings; alone, two of them together or in very small groups, making all contact to the other prisoners impossible.

Within this isolation they are constantly being watched by TV cameras and listened to by microphones; visits take place behind glass walls and are watched by prison officials, specialists of the criminal investigation bureau and psychologists. After each visit, even after visits by relatives, the prisoners have to undress and are then subjected to humiliating controls. The lights in their cells are sometimes kept on during the nights. They cannot hear any sound from other cells or from outside. Their view is cut by special blinds at the windows.

It is known worldwide now that these conditions are part of a scientific programme that has, since 1950, been developed under the term of 'brainwashing'. If the will of the prisoner cannot be broken by these methods, their health and life is destroyed. We can only remind you of Holger Meins and Katharina Hammerschmidt. (Both died in prison as a result of prison conditions, translator).

Obviously the situation has become drastic to such an extent that the prisoners took up the last material means of resistance left to them: the unlimited hungerstrike. They say: "In this situation, after having been isolated from each other, cut off from every political process and development and from the outside world, we are determined to make this separation come to an end by using the one effective means that we have: the collective hungerstrike, in order to be able to survive as humans and to get the conditions necessary for a collective process of learning and working."

We demand of you, who are responsible for the prison conditions, to act on the demands of these prisoners. The demands are:

- association in groups
- no high security wings
- the abolition of all forms of isolation
- release of Verena Becker, who suffers from open tuberculosis, and of Günter Sonnenberg, who cannot recover from the brain damage he has as a result of a headwound he received when he got arrested in 1977.

At the present time (the letter was written before the end of the strike, ed) three of the prisoners on hungerstrike are already in danger of dying. Their names are Gabriele Rollnick, Gudrun Stutmer and Andreas Vogel. The health of all other prisoners is deteriorating quickly.

In Northrhine-Westphalia the prisoners are already being forcefed. In West Berlin and Lubeck prison doctors refuse to forcefed. We are in support of doctors who refuse to forcefeed against the prisoner's will. Force feeding is not a medical solution but a method of force used to break the resistance of people. We are of the same opinion as 80 doctors in the Netherlands who stated that, in this context, forcefeeding has to be regarded as torture. In this situation, where the life of prisoners is in danger, forcefeeding even has to be regarded as a direct attack on the lives of prisoners.

Our colleagues in Northrhine-Westphalia we strongly ask to end the forcefeeding if they do not want to be responsible for the lives of prisoners.

*

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This is the statement. We ask you to, if possible, send it around to doctors you might know so they can perhaps sign it or act on it. Letters should be sent to the addresses of the judge and Minister of Justice listed below:

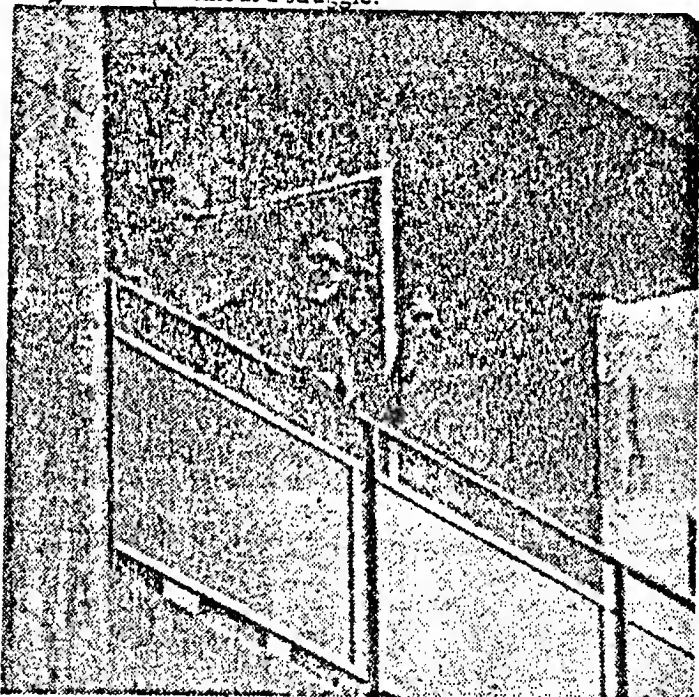
Brmittlungsrichter am BGH
Herr Kuhn
Herrenstr. 45 a
Karlsruhe

An den Bundesminister der Justiz
Jurgen Schmude
Heinemannstr. 6
53 Bonn 2
W-Germany

The contact address for doctors in Hamburg:
Karl-Heinz Roth
Clemens-Schulzstr. 38
2000 Hamburg
W-Germany

FOUR MILITANTS OCCUPY DER SPIEGEL OFFICES

Four sympathizers of the West-German-based extremist group, the Red Army Fraction, walked into the Brussels offices of the weekly *Der Spiegel* last week and ordered the personnel to get out. They then insisted that the magazine publish a communiqué listing the grievances of jailed RAF members and called for the liberation of one of them. Belgian sharpshooters (the Diane squad) positioned themselves on nearby rooftops, but after occupying the 6th floor offices for two hours and 40 minutes, the unarmed militants — a Belgian woman, two Dutchmen and a Frenchwoman, the apparent ringleader — gave themselves up without a struggle.



Three of last Wednesday's occupants of the Spiegel office, on the balcony

THE BULLETIN 16.04.81

Statement from 'Women Against Imperialism'

Sigurd Debus was killed!

Together with the prisoners of the RAF he fought for the association in groups. His struggle shows his political identity. Only his knowledge, that he was fighting collectively, not as an individual, enabled him to fight as he consequently did.

On April 16th the hungerstrike of the RAF prisoners ended. Sigurd died the same day, killed by the authorities.

We have sent to you, throughout the strike, various information on the strike and we will now sum up the history of the strike and how it ended. There is a definite relation between the death of Sigurd Debus and the ending of the strike, but it is not as the authorities have put it:

The prisoners of the RAF ended their hungerstrike after a letter had been sent by the West German Secretary of Justice to Amnesty International, stating that the prison conditions of the political prisoners would be changed if the hungerstrike ended. Sigurd Debus at that time had been in a civilian hospital for over a week, he was unconscious and he was kept alive only by intravenous feeding and by oxygen being pumped into his lungs. On Wednesday the 15th his brain stopped working, he was clinically dead and was artificially kept legally alive. On Thursday, the day the RAF prisoners openly stated the end of their hungerstrike, Sigurd was proclaimed dead by the authorities. Sigurd was murdered. He did not die of starvation, he died of a massive cerebral hemorrhage (massive bleeding in the brain) and his death is a direct result of the fact that he was forcefed and of the methods used to forcefeed him. Sigurd was one of the first prisoners to be forcefed and he was forcefed by infusions, e.g. he was strapped to his bed up to 11 hours a day and fluid was being pumped into his veins. This is a very brutal way of forcefeeding and he describes the results of it in a letter:

...after an infusion of carbohydrates, I was not able to sit up for more than five minutes...my heart was going very fast and there was a pain in the left part of my chest. I was unable to move fast, unable to lie on my side, (I) laid on my back, head slightly raised, feeling sick. Dizziness. I had the feeling that my legs and spine kept turning, faster and faster, spiralwise. I lost consciousness at times.



Sigurd Debus

kept, commented that he would have known that the method and substance used to forcefeed Sigurd would be deadly!!)

One week before Sigurd was transferred to a civilian hospital, the prison doctor, without having made a new diagnosis, changed the contents of the fluid used to feed the comrade by adding fat-emulsion. This and the fact that Sigurd was constantly strapped very tightly to his bed (thus damaging his circulation) led to drastic high-blood pressure and subsequently his death. (We have just heard that the prison doctor in Straubing, another prison where RAF prisoners are being

Sigurd's death was planned. It was carefully planned that he should die because thereby most could be made out of his death in the media. Sigurd was not a member of the RAF, but he joined the hungerstrike, not, as the authorities would have the public believe, out of solidarity, but because the demands of the RAF prisoners were also his own. He wanted to be put together with prisoners of the RAF as those were his comrades and he was determined not to bear any longer the situation of the so-called 'reform prison' he was in, where he could not develop and communicate with anyone of his own history and identity. So it was not just an act of solidarity but an act of political consciousness and self-determination that made him join the hungerstrike. The authorities let his murder coincide with the ending of the hungerstrike to show the public that the RAF is willing and able to sacrifice the life of someone who was not even a member of their own group for their unreasonable demands, to show that the RAF is determined to 'step over corpses'.

We are not going to describe how the hungerstrike developed over the weeks, how the authorities reacted and dealt with it and how the solidarity work progressed. We have cut this account in two parts, one dealing with the authorities, the second with us, our work, the difficulties and results.

The first few weeks of the hungerstrike are marked by a total ban on all information. There were no news at all in the media concerning the strike. Four press conferences were held by the lawyers during this period (in Bonn, Cologne and Frankfurt) but nothing appeared in the papers. At the same time the prisoners were harrassed: their cells were searched, some were transferred to other prisons, Angelika Speitel (Cologne) was at various times throughout the strike thrown into special punishment cells, her lawyer was not allowed to see her, information was given to the press that she had tried to commit suicide (she did try to commit suicide earlier, but has not done so again). False information was given to the prisoners as to the development of the strike and the participation of other prisoners with the aim to destroy the collective action the prisoners had started. Support work was criminalized, lawyers offices were raided in search of the hungerstrike declaration. People who did support work were arrested for handing out leaflets. To openly demand the prisoners of the RAF be put together in groups (the demand of the hungerstrikers) had already been criminalized by a court ruling in January, when three people were convicted for 'advertising in favour of a terrorist group' because they had displayed at a meeting a banner calling for the association in groups of RAF prisoners. This and the fact that at the very beginning of the hungerstrike two people were arrested (and are still in jail, as are about 40 others who were arrested during the strike) for handing out leaflets stating the prisoners' demands, was an attempt to make all support work impossible.

The Irish hungerstrike had started a month after the RAF prisoners had gone on strike. During the time of the two hungerstrikes, there were various meetings between West German and British (and Irish) authorities (Carrington met with Schmidt and Genscher, the foreign secretary; Haughey and Lenihan met with Schmidt). We are going to comment later on the similarities in how these two hungerstrikes were dealt with. It is obvious that the two states talked about the hungerstrikes and

how to deal with them, and it is also obvious that they did not do it on their own, but that there is a strategy behind it. We will soon send NATO REVIEW, a paper published by NATO, commenting on dealing with 'terrorism' and with the demand for political status of 'terrorist' prisoners. At the present time a hunger strike has started in Spanish prisons and last week Mr Sotelo, newly elected Chancellor of Spain, came to Hamburg to meet with Mr Schmidt...

The news ban on the hungerstrike was broken when numerous actions and demonstrations made it impossible for the authorities to further ignore the strike. This was at a time when quite a few of the prisoners were already in a very bad condition. The news coverage now became direct preparation for the death of a prisoner. The prisoners' demands were falsified in the press, it was said they demanded to be, all of them, put into one prison, that they demanded POW status. The prisoners were thus shown to the public as political maniacs and potential suicidists; determined (and going) to die for demands that could never be granted and that would be dangerous (to the public) to grant: All RAF prisoners in one prison would mean a new 'high-command' and would surely inspire the guerilla outside to storm that one prison. So the public was prepared for the death of a prisoner; this death was pictured as inevitable and it was said it surely would be followed by 'terrorist' activities.

The hungerstrike was ended, as we have already stated, by the fact that a letter was sent by the Secretary of Justice to Amnesty International, stating that he would see to it that the total isolation of the prisoners would end. The murder of Sigurd Debus was made to coincide with the end to split up and weaken the solidarity movement.

II

The work we did during the first weeks of the strike was mostly aimed at breaking the news ban and at establishing a broad-based solidarity movement. We held meetings and organized demonstrations. We also had a lot of discussions with various groups of the autonomous left (squatters, anti-nuclear power) to work out



the connections of the prisoners' struggle and our struggle and how we could integrate the hungerstrike into our work. The first phase is marked by actions like the relatives' occupation of the Spiegel Building. The solidarity movement was growing slowly and it has found ways and means to break, by action and demonstration, the news ban despite the criminalization, despite people being watched all the time.

There were many meetings and demonstrations as well as militant actions throughout the strike. The actions were, as the strike progressed, aimed more and more at US institutions, showing that the discussions around the strike have developed the understanding within the militant movement of the FRG as a state that is functioning in the interest of US imperialism.

The solidarity movement in this hungerstrike had - compared to other hungerstrikes - a new quality. More people took part and more and more people were prepared to engage in militant actions. People in various parts of the movement have become aware of the prison-

ers and have found ways and means to integrate the prisoners struggle into their work.

In killing Sigurd the state has again, just as in 1977 (murder in Stammheim) demonstrated its will and ability to destroy militant prisoners. But the reaction of the left is different this time. In 1977 the greater part of the militant left was paralyzed after the murder of the comrades in Stammheim. 1977 was followed by a period of stagnation and disorientation, people desperately tried to find ways to escape the system without having to fight it (boom of the alternative movement) as fighting the system had proved to be very dangerous indeed. But now the situation has changed again - we know the enemy, we are fighting and we are prepared to fight him.

It is important now that the hungerstrike has ended, to keep on fighting for better prison conditions for our prisoners. This has become even more important now that the prison has become part of the reality for a great part of the militant left (militant squatters have been sentenced to long terms, anti-nuclear people are being brought to trial again). We know that the prisoners' demands will only be implemented if we continue to put pressure on the state, if we don't stop fighting. The end of the Irish hungerstrike last December has clearly shown that the state doesn't necessarily mean to do what it says. In this context we ask you to send letters of protest demanding the prisoners' demands be implemented (to addressed listed elsewhere in this pamphlet).

We have watched very closely the hungerstrike of the prisoners in Northern Ireland and in so doing have come across a great many similarities in the ways the British and West German states have reacted to the strikes:

- The news ban and when it was broken the disinformation in the press concerning the demands of the prisoners, the state of health of prisoners and prison conditions (how the no-wash protest was pictured in the press, news of Bobby Sands' and Sigurd's death being given out falsely)

- The harrassment the prisoners were subject to during the strikes (prisoners being kept isolated, raided, given false information). The murder (Ireland) and the internment (W-Germany) of people doing solidarity work.
- Actions of the left being answered by counteractions that were then described as left actions in the press in order to disorientate and alienate the public (the Cologne subway bombing (W-Germany) and the woman handing out census sheets being killed and the IRA being said to have done it in order to work against the anti-census campaign and against the hungerstrike movement etc.)
- The general reaction of the state - no consultation while the hungerstrike is going on - there are no political prisoners.

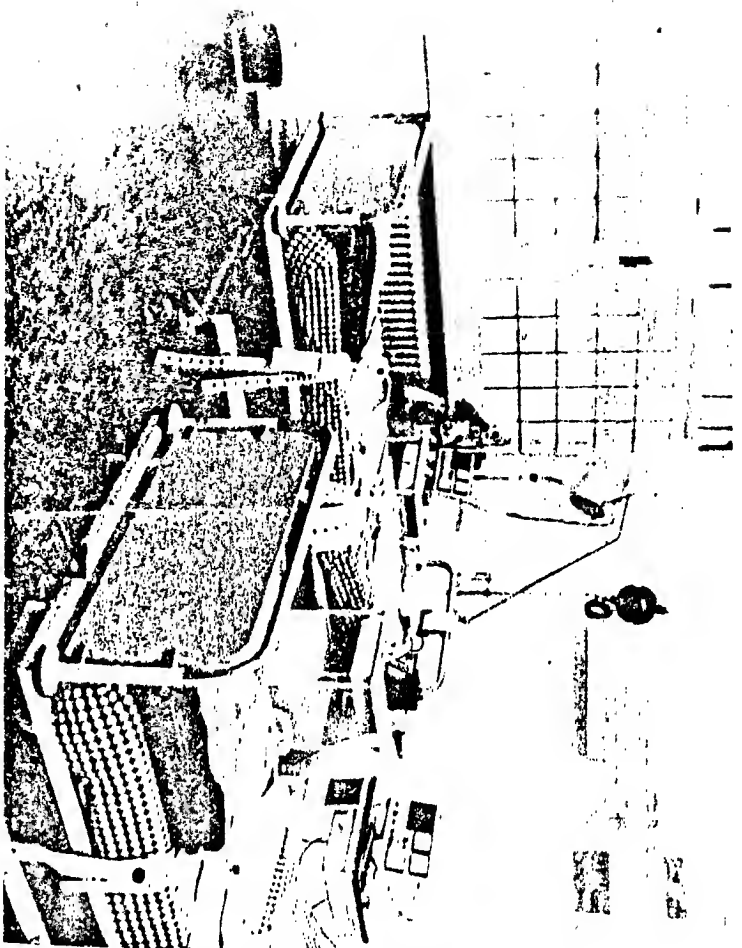
We will continue to work towards a movement that is able to crush the unified Europe of repression. The letters we and the prisoners received during the hungerstrike, the work we did during the last hungerstrike in Ireland, has been a beginning. We were not able to do as much during the present Irish hungerstrike, as we are still not very many, but we have always mentioned the hungerstike in all of the leaflets we gave out , in all the meetings. A lot still has been done and we will continue to work together...

WOMEN AGAINST IMPERIALISM

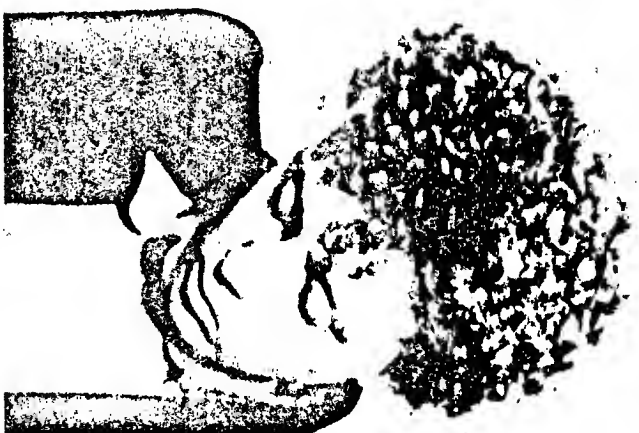
Please send all letters also to our addresses:

Frauenbuchladen
c/o Rosalinde
Bismarkstr. 98
D-2000 Hamburg 20
W-Germany

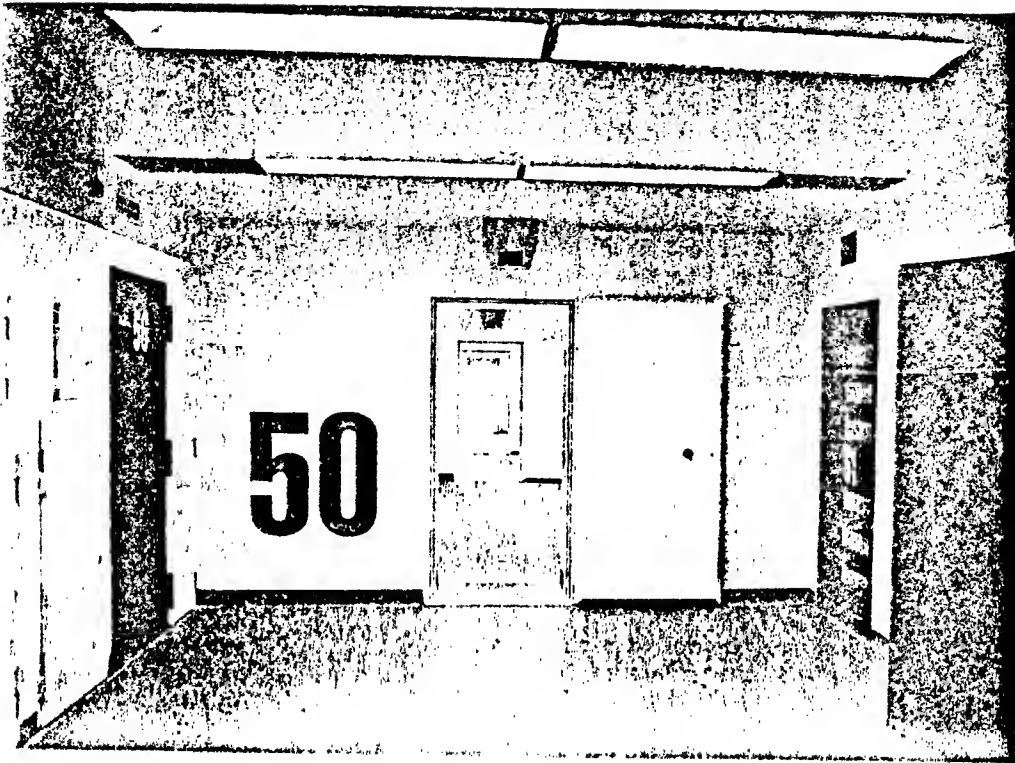
AKAS
c/o Postfach 3021
4 Dusseldorf 1
W-Germany



Hospital in Strafvollzug where RAF hungerstrikers were forcefed.



RAF Supporter Sabine Schmidt



Prison in Berlin-Moabit.

ETA-MILITAR SOLIDARITY TELEGRAM

Telegram from prisoners out of ETA-militar (prison Carabanchel:

"To the revolutionary prisoners of the RAF:

The prisoners out of ETA-militar encourage the comrades out of the RAF to continue with the hunger-strike.

In solidarity with their struggle
Libertad o Muerte

Carabanchel, 17th April 1981"
Spain



HAIG ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT

R/F COMMUNIQUE ON THE ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF
GENERAL ALEXANDER HAIG - JUNE 25, 1979

Red Army Faction - Commando "Andreas Baader" claims responsibility for the attempted assassination of General Alexander Haig.

On June 25, 1979 the Commando Andreas Baader launched a bomb attack against the commander-in-chief of NATO, U.S. General Alexander Haig. Why we aimed this action at Haig personally, and why we missed, we explain thusly:

We had dug a 6 foot long trench under the street of a bridge on the way to Haig's residence at NATO Headquarters and buried the payload (50 pounds of plastique explosives) perhaps 1½ inches from the surface appropriately. The ignition grew over a 650 foot long electric cable, to be triggered at the instant when the front door of Haig's mercedes reached the point where the payload was. We had determined in advance that the car travelled 2 meters in a tenth of a second. Our failure was that we thought we could trigger the explosion by hand quickly enough and exactly when the target point was reached.

We have done this action because Haig represents and executes in a particularly precise way the "new course" or "modified style" of American strategy.

What has changed since the political and military defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam is that instead of U.S. aggression decreasing, it's increasing.

The people of the world are confronted with a new American offensive which marks at the same time a qualitative leap forward in the development of the relative strength between the forces of revolution and the forces of counter-revolution; or as we have already said: the worldwide revolution-

ary process is the encirclement of the cities by the people in the countryside.

With the victorious liberation of Southeast Asia and Africa the front is moving nearer to the center, it is coming closer to the cities and makes the tactical and strategic retreat of U.S. imperialism inevitable. In other words the so-called "displacement of the strategic crucial points" is towards West Europe.

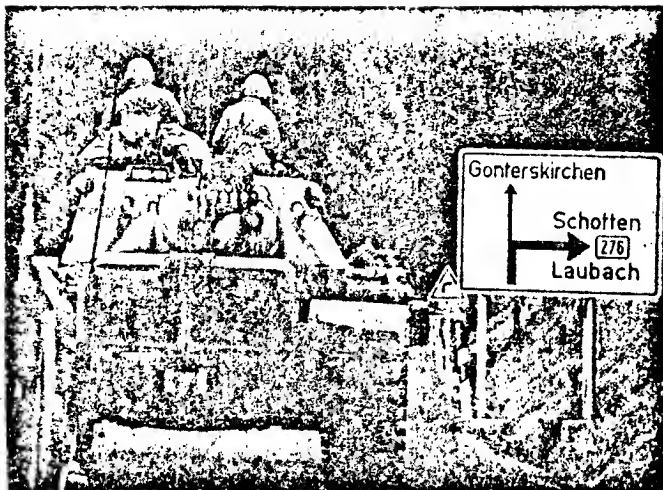
What Haig calls the "modified style" requests from the Western European states, which are meanwhile integrated into the "euro-project" directed by the Federal Republic of (West) Germany (FRG), is nothing more than being the final functionaries for U.S. global strategy: "Europe can no longer afford to be only the observer, standing on the side of the playing field."

Open season on the ruling class.



Haig and his car following the RAF assassination attempt.





U.S. tanks on NATO maneuvers in West Germany

What Haig means by that is the invasion of French and Moroccan forces with U.S. help into Shaba province, Zaire, Africa and the French invasion of the Central African nation of Chad, and the next expedition into the Arab Gulf, and the direct military aggression by those mercenary, client-states owned by the U.S. in various "crisis zones", for the vital interest of the western countries.

The concrete steps of the politics of reinforcement of Haig in his function as NATO chief were put in practise with the help of the Federal Republic of (West) Germany (FRG).

These steps were taken in preparation for the "half-war stage", in order to have the European states firmly under control, to build up the FRG as the most aggressive US base.

This means having over-powering nuclear weapons, having a gradually escalating presence of American troops as if the entire country were one single barracks.

The function of the FRG is to police the situations on the borders of NATO, and countries, for example, in the Mid-East and Africa. It functions as an iron collar on the adjacent countries.

It means the social-liberal government under Schmidt, the social-democratic project of covert warfare, which has already broken down because the measures against the RAF failed; now the (social-liberal government) is internationally known as an outspoken and open war-making party.

Schmidt's whole problem is the tight-rope, balancing act, between the selling of the "model west germany" and the German reality. Remember in 1973 Brandt fell down too.

Schmidt is in a jam because through a publication from the pentagon in 1977, he openly talked about the strategy of "flexible responses", and what it means for Germany: "In a limited European war perhaps 5 million dead in Germany". All to protect the American home-land. This is the price the German Social-Democrat Party (SPD) pays to stay in power.

This jam is only a symbol of the total dependence of the FRG which we fight against.

Since we have existed, NATO develops their program against the armed resistance of the Red Army Faction, with NATO directing the execution of imprisoned cadre in West Germany. There also exists the command to "preventively" shoot in the head those who fight against the state in the streets.

It is clear that the condition of the FRG, for functioning in the imperialist offensive is the destruction of every revolutionary group or movement "whose activities are directed against the interests of the federation."

And this means everybody who understands and fights in an anti-imperialist and international context.

The only question is, what are we to do? How we - the forces on the side of the revolution must deal with these times.

It is a matter of fact: that U.S. imperialism is still the enemy and the death of human-kind.

The fight continues.

Commando Andreas Baader - Red Army Faction

Smash U.S. imperialism and its bases all over the world !

Organize armed resistance !

Build the anti-imperialist front in the "metropolis" !

Solidarity with the Palestinian resistance... the resistance against the imperial "final solution" !

Solidarity with the anti-imperialist resistance in Turkey !



RAF STATEMENT OF 26.7.80

Printed here is the translation of the statement made by the Red Army Fraction concerning the death in a car accident of two comrades - Julianne Plambeck & Wolfgang Beer. The statement speaks of the loss of the two comrades & of the work done to unite the guerilla (2nd of June & Red Army Fraction) in the FRG. It is also a clarification of the strategy of the RAF at this time and against the massive bourgeois media offensive unleashed immediately following the accident.

The sudden 'discovery' by the state of the guerilla within the FRG as the excuse for increased repression is exposed as a lie, while the allegations of planned actions against certain individuals within the state machinery are here repudiated, as is the strategy implied by such actions.

* * * *

Wolfgang & Julianne - Their death was a heavy blow, especially in such a stupid accident. They had come to

terms with a different type of death, not in this everyday brutal metropolitan waste.

To shovel the shit away that the press is now pouring out would take too much. Those who had something to do with Wolfgang, know who he was. For him it was important to learn in & through the attack - underground, legally, in prison - and this he openly showed. His clarity, in how he was, his initiative, his militancy and political thinking was, for eight years, of importance - RAF.

Julianne wanted that the guerilla in the FRG joined together and it was through this that we came together with her. It was her openness and political radicalism that achieved the removing of the shit that was hindering this. Her decisiveness and desire to tackle the new phase gave us strength.

Concerning the crap that the BAW¹ and EKA² are using the deaths for we say: Rebmann³ does not interest us at the present - he's preening himself with talks of attacks against himself - not to mention Spath⁴. We also don't plan to blow up Schmidt. Naturally we are here (in the FRG - translator) and they know that better than they admit in their propaganda.

It is not our practice 'to prove an ability to act' or 'commit acts of desperation'. The offensive of '77 has opened a perspective for a new phase, especially the necessity of restructuring, and to develop the next steps in the strategy which allows the armed, illegal and legal structure to become a political-military movement of the anti-imperialist resistance. This is how our action is decided.

RED ARMY FRACTION 26.7.80

- 1) Federal Attorney's Office
- 2) Federal Criminal Department
- 3) Attorney General
- 4) Premier of Baden - Wurttemberg

WOMEN AT WAR!

WOMEN AT WAR!

by: REVOLUTIONARY FEMINIST CELLS:

"The principal of buiding many autonomous resistance-cells is at the moment the most secure way to build a west-european guerilla. This guarantees that every cell is doing its own politics and that a lot of different initiatives and campaigns are developing. And the police have no chance to discover the structure."

After the murders of Andreas, Jan, and Gudrun we thought about kidnapping Moro or Schmidt and after Moro's suicide we started analysing the desperate situation of the left.

We agree with each other, that the principal of building many autonomous cells is - together with the military actions of armed groups and the militant resistance in west-germany, at this moment the most promising perspective to spread. Our concept is based on subjective and autonomous resistance and so it is difficult to extend the revolutionary cells to a political force, a real social force with growing support and sympathy. It is necessary to have a public discussion between the cells. An illegal newspaper should be possible.

We have an interest to make things public and we think it is also in the interest of the movement, that the political discussions and practical information multiplies. For the distribution it is important that the text go from hand to hand (which means from friend to friend) and do not lay about universities or so-called 'left' bookstores. We think also it is important that despite of all solidarity one is sincere. Perhaps Marx and Lenin were the most decisive revolutionary theorists for the Russian Revolution and are the same in an international context until today. Mao, Ho Chi Minh and Che were as indespensable for the American and Asian revolutions as for us. Nevertheless we say very clearly: our consciousness of revolution is guided by the political, sociological and socio-psy-

chological knowledge of 1979: antipatriarchal, feminist and radical, hostile against domination, supremacy, power.

Revolutionary cells are the possibility for everybody to make an offensive resistance and not sink down in the morass of the hypocrisy of the democracy. We are sick of the daily oppression and destruction and we will assault them before they assault us. The concept of the revolutionary cells developed through many years of experience with west-german imperialism and patriarchy. Experiences like these: The way home at night. The fear to get raped. The experience of a woman to be confronted not only with an economy-clique but with oppressive thinking of men, "I'm worth less than men", etc. Finally I defend myself. At night I hit his face. The next time I shall defend myself better: teargas - jiu jitsu. I defend myself, because it is my only chance. I use violence. Violence against violence.

Our reality looks like this: either we swallow for years chemistry or we are afraid of getting pregnant or we give birth and birth and birth. The womens' movement developed through the campaign for our right to have an abortion. We draw our conclusions out of the womens' movement to make an offensive resistance against capital and patriarchy.

Our political resistance in the Federal Republic of West Germany (FRG) is not limited to the west-german situation, but guided by the international anti-imperialist resistance from Latin America to Palestine and Iran. The same way we fight in unconditional solidarity with all anti-imperialist liberation movements we have the claim to criticize - also unconditional - the repressive, patriarchal structures of the society, which you can also see in the liberation movements. For example we are afraid of the new chains of Islam for the Iranian women. Our when we saw in South Lebanon how Palestinian women, who were raped by the phalangist in Tel az atar, were outlawed from their 'comrades' as 'prostitutes' and are socially outlawed and exploited everywhere. As long as international liberation movements (whether in Namibia, Nicaragua, or with the



PFLP) women's liberation is declared as a 'side-contradiction' and at the same time patriarchal structures of the capitalist bourgeois society are still existing - our solidarity will always be very critical.

The problem of patriarchal structures is not only a problem of international liberation movements. We experience as women in our groups (cells) the same patriarchal shit. The

guys organize, plan, do, stress and we shall have the function of helping. If we come together by discussing the actions theoretically, then in practice they are again the 'makers'. As long as they do not criticize themselves and change we have as women only one consequent solution: feminist revolutionary cells.

We can handle chemical and explosives as well as they do and we can develop a higher level of security through actions, if we deal with our fears radically.

We have a continuous interest working together with men, but also to stop making such compromises, when new structures of domination are beginning.

REVOLUTIONARY
FEMINIST CELLS



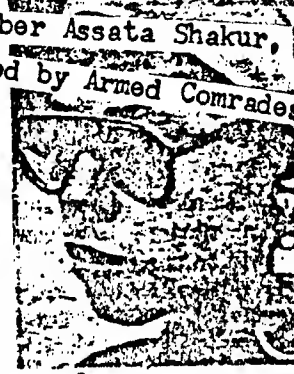
B.L.A. ON REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE

WHY BUILD THE ARMED FRONT - BLACK LIBERATION ARMY - 1976

We have chosen to build the armed front, the urban guerilla front, not as an alternative to organizing masses of Black people, but because the liberation movement as a whole must prepare armed formations at each stage in its

struggle. A failure to build these armed formations can be fatal to both the struggle and Black people.

Our ultimate or strategic goal at this point in creating the apparatus of revolutionary violence is to weaken the enemy capitalist state, creating at the same time objective-subjective conditions that are ripe for the formation of a National Black Liberation Front composed of



BLA Member Assata Shakur,
Liberated by Armed Comrades

many progressive, revolutionary, and nationalist groupings, and in this same process create the nucleus of the armed clandestine organs which such a front would need in order to carry out its political tasks. These are the broad reasons for our devotion to armed struggle. The fact that no such national united front exists now, in no way precludes the fact that the creation of one will become necessary in the future (as the contradictions of capitalist society increase repression, racism and social deterioration). We are of the opinion that subjective conditions are not ripe for such unity.

Because of objective conditions, namely, enemy activity and the relative low degree of unity within the black struggle, we have decided to build the apparatus separate and distinct (organizationally) from all other mass type groups. This is a tactical necessity, but this tactical necessity does not contradict our strategic call for all groups in the Black Liberation movement to form a national united front, with the principle of armed action as one of many "legitimate" forms of political policy.

At present the contradictions that any B.L.A. activities may cause are not to be avoided. Every progressive should welcome the exposure and development of contradictions, for it is through the development of contradictions that

we will all move forward. Every brother, every sister on the side of liberation should and must support the struggle on all fronts, and clarify to our people the acts of revolutionary violence committed against our common oppressors and class enemies of all colours. This means that revolutionary violence must be supported by those in the movement on all levels. While such support will be difficult at first, objective conditions and time will remove much of this difficulty which is primarily ideological myopia to begin with. We know from experience that because of the class nature of our struggle and its racist aspect, many of our actions may very well be tactical actions, or of a purely military-psychological nature, and because of this clear political support may seem quite difficult. Nonetheless we intend to clarify all acts of revolutionary violence and accept responsibility for these acts. The important factor, however, is that the progressive movement, the liberation movement, and comrades on all levels understand that failure to support the armed urban guerilla front (materially, politically) is a failure to support the mass front, is a failure to support the 'legal' thrusts of our struggle in 'civil rights', and in the final analysis, an abdication of responsibility. Cowardice can be understood, but not opportunism and an abdication of commitment to our total liberation.

RED BRIGADES: STRATEGIC RESOLUTION

THE IMPERIALISM OF THE MULTINATIONALS

By Imperialism of the Multinationals we mean that phase of imperialism in which multinational capital is dominant.

The multiproductive multinational monopoly, that is, large trusts with branches in various countries and investments in different sectors, is now the dominant element in the structure; the fundamental basis for the movements of capital is thus no longer the national area, but the capitalist area in its entirety.

Although the basic constituent element of imperialism, since its origin, has been monopoly capital, it

was only with the Second World War the multinational monopoly capital asserted its presence throughout the whole capitalist area. Now the big monopoly combines can decisively overcome their national limitations and roam freely over the whole area, while the multinational structure becomes an indispensable factor in all further development. It is precisely because of this that it can fully exploit the existence of different rates of profit in the area, thus realizing those enormous superprofits that are characteristic of capitalist accumulation in the imperialist phase.

"Multinationalism" is thus not simply the internationalization of the capital market, but the internationalization of capital in its totality: structure of production, market, property relations etc. Inside the bourgeois alliance, this process of internationalization determines the domination of the IMPERIALIST BOURGEOISIE, the class expression of multinational monopoly capital; and it asserts itself, its institutional instruments of intervention and domination are consolidated alongside (Trilateral, Imperialist State of the Multinationals, IMF, EEC, etc).

But the domination of multinational capital and the imperialist bourgeoisie does not mean that every capital, in this phase, is therefore a multinational capital, rather that every other capitalist form, whether national or non-monopoly, now has to be analysed in its relations of ORGANIC DEPENDENCE to multinational capital: the movements of this capital determine the movements of all other capitals in the last instance. Thus the contradictions inside the bourgeois alliance are not overcome, but posed again in different forms: the principle inter-capitalist contradiction is now no longer the one between national capitals (and hence between national areas and national bourgeoisies) - but the one between big multinational combines (thus cutting vertically through the imperialist bourgeoisie).

In saying this, we don't mean to deny that contradictions still exist between the various capitalist "nations", or between monopoly and non-monopoly capital. But we believe these contradictions to be essentially

the reflection of much deeper contradictions between multinational combines. In fact, the various national areas now exist as a backdrop for the multinationals: the 'point of strength' for each multinational is the national area in which it was born and developed, the zone in which it reaps the benefit of being an almost exclusive monopoly. So really when we speak about multinationals, we always imply 'multinationals with a national pole', and so use what at first glance seem to be contradictory expressions - 'American, German... etc. multinationals'.

Non-monopoly capital, organically dependent upon monopoly capital, exists by its side in what is certainly a contradictory unity; but obviously it cannot have the possibility and the material strength to express these contradictions in the political form of a rupture in the imperialist alliance. Thus, the imperialism of the multinationals takes the form of a system of world domination in which the different 'national capitalisms' are nothing more than its organic articulation, where the different 'national areas' are the geographical expression of the international division of labour that it sets under way.

Thus, we can make our first observation. In each national area, the proletariat is in no position to settle up with its own 'national bourgeoisie', but rather with the local articulation of the imperialist bourgeoisie. This gives to the proletarian class struggle - even in the metropolises - the character of an anti-imperialist struggle, and thus, in a more general sense, the character of REVOLUTIONARY CLASS WAR. In the same breath it is also, in the metropolises, AN ANTI*IMPERIALIST LIBERATION WAR, A PROTRACTED WAR.

As we have seen, however, the imperialist chain is still characterized by its unequal development, defining the specificity of the economic social formation of each of its links (the relation between the dominant multinational capital and the multinational capital of the particular 'pole', between monopoly and non-monopoly capital, between 'internal' imperialist bourgeoisie and proletariat). For this reason the class struggle, despite its strategic homogeneity

of contents and perspectives, takes forms and rhythms specific to the different national areas.

IMPERIALISM AND WAR

The present economic crises engulfing the entire imperialist system is, in respect to the whole Western capitalist area, a capitalist crisis of absolute overproduction. The means that imperialism has always used to resolve these periodic crises of overproduction has been war. It is war which first of all allows the victorious imperialist powers to expand their productive base at the expense of the losers; but even more important, it is war which marks the destruction of capital, commodities and labour power, and thus makes resumption of the economic cycle possible for some time to come.

To still remain 'restricted' to the Western area means, in fact, that imperialism must accumulate ever more disruptive contradictions: the concentration of capital increases in an accelerated way, the rate of profit hits rock bottom, the productive base gets ever more restricted, unemployment soars. Short moments of recovery are followed by ever more severe recessive phases, defining what amounts to a process of permanent crises (the unfolding of the crises in the last few years has broadly demonstrated this).

Because of this, imperialism faces an ever more pressing need to widen its area. But it can only be widened at the expense of Social-Imperialism (the USSR and countries of the Warsaw Pact), leading inevitably to a direct collision between the USA and USSR. The partial clashes carried out through intermediaries' receiving assistance from them, in the Middle East and Africa, are only the first stages of this process.

This therefore, is the historical perspective presented by multinational monopoly capital in this phase, for both itself and the revolutionary movement. The position of the proletariat inside it can only be objectively put as a decisive frontal confrontation with imperialist domination. And its immediate tactics can only be fixed by the same historical perspective:

either class war in the imperialist metropolises, or else imperialist third world war.

The various imperialist powers are quite unable to make war without their own 'pacified and solid' background, so they can endure the fierceness of the clash. Many examples could be given of inter-imperialist wars which were concluded just as soon as the threat of communist revolution appeared, when differ-



Captured Red Brigadists Piancone, Franceschini,
Notarnicola and Curcio

ent imperialisms, previously the bitterest of enemies, united against armed proletarian rebellion. Two examples will suffice: the Paris Commune and the October Revolution:

Here is the example that Marx drew from the Commune:

...that after the most tremendous war of modern times, the conquering and the conquered hosts should fraternise for the common massacre of the proletariat - this unparalleled event does indicate, not as Bismarck thinks, the final repression of a new society upheaving, but the crumbling into dust of bourgeois society. The highest heroic effort of which old society is still capable of is national war; and this now is proved to be mere government humbug, intended to defer the struggle of the classes, and to be

thrown aside as soon as class struggle bursts out into civil war.

In the crises which precedes war, however, the relations of forces are strategically favourable to the proletarian revolution. The crises actually generates the strongest social contradictions, which determine a most violent class confrontation; insofar as this confrontation is deepened and transformed into class war, the bourgeoisie is unable to move on to the footing of imperialist war: thus the crises becomes irreversible, while further sharpening the process of civil war that is going on at the same time.

This is the dialectic that can nail capitalist development.

So we can formulate the following generalization: inside the crises the password of the bourgeoisie is "block the process of civil war, transform it into imperialist war and thus defeat the revolution"; for communists it then has to be "develop the process of civil war that is taking place, and thus obstruct imperialist war."

THE IMPERIALIST STATE OF THE MULTINATIONALS

A. It is first of all necessary to fix some methodological criteria that are basic to the determination of the concept of the Imperialist State.

So we will begin by saying that we do not believe that during this century the substance of capitalism, that is its specific contradictions, has changed. On the contrary, what has changed is the form, and hence the ways in which these contradictions historically tend to be shown.

For clarification, we point to the divergence between Lenin and Bukharin on the nature of capitalism. Bukharin argued that imperialism was a completely new phenomenon compared with competitive capitalism, to which Lenin replied: "Imperialism is a superstructure of capitalism", i.e. that imperialism has the same basic contradictions as capitalism - the substance re-



mains unchanged, only the form is different (from 'private capitalism' to 'State monopoly capitalism', from 'free competition' to 'competition between monopolies'...).

In other words, the problem for Lenin was not one of superceding basic categories of Marxist analysis, but rather their formal redefinition (historical-political) in the light of a new reality.

Paraphrasing Lenin, we could also say that: "The imperialism of multinationals is a superstructure of imperialism", so that our task is not to throw overboard the categories of Leninist anal-

ysis ('Nation-State', 'imperialist chain', 'weak link' ...), but to re-examine them in terms of the form they take in the present phase, in order to clarify it.

The same is true of the categories 'Party' and 'Dictatorship of the proletariat'; our theoretical-practical consideration of the Fighting Communist Party is really nothing other than the reproduction of Leninist experience, and its developments through the Chinese revolution, in the present phase. That is why we call ourselves 'marxist-leninists'.

B. The Imperialist State of the Multinationals is the 'national' institutional superstructure which corresponds with the phase of the imperialism of the multinationals. Its essential characteristics are:

- 1 The formation of an imperialist political personnel
- 2 The rigid centralisation of State structures under the control of the Executive

- 3 Reformism and annihilation as integral forms of
the same function
- 4 Preventative counter-revolution

THE FORMATION OF AN IMPERIALIST POLITICAL PERSONNEL

Together with the development of a multinational economic structure in our area since the mid-fifties (with the massive penetration of USA multinational capital on an international scale since 1957), an imperialist bourgeois fraction is formed inside the bourgeoisie.

We define the 'internal' imperialist bourgeoisie as that fraction of the bourgeois class that is integrated with the world imperialist system, which is the expression of multinational monopoly capital and the pulling element of the imperialist restructuring process, and related political and institutional superstructures, in our economic area.

In this same period the supranational institutional structures (IMF, EEC, NATO), through which the imperialist bourgeoisie aims to impose its global strategy, gain strength; they assume power to the point of subordinating, making functional to themselves, the 'national states', which are thereby forced to redefine their internal structure.

Through this restructuring, they are ready to carry out two basic roles:

- The transmission belt of the global economic-strategic interests of the dominant imperialism,
- The 'normalization of the area', i.e. the organization of preventative counter-revolution in order to wipe out all 'desire' for revolution.

Naturally, in the links which are economically weakest and politically most unstable, these functions become decisive; and therefore get carried forward by the 'internal' bourgeoisie, borrowing from the strongest links the most repressive practises and models which they are already applying, under the supervision of the imperialist centres of supranational command.

This historical process, like all others, still walks on the legs of men. Thus the emergence of the 'internal' imperialist bourgeoisie as the dominant bourgeois fraction also has another consequence: the advancement of an economic/political/military personnel, the most direct expression of its interests, inside the living articulation of power.

This new bureaucracy, efficient, interchangeable and 'European' no longer gets picked from and qualified in the old Party schools, but right from the centres of cadre formation - the Foundations, the Big Factories biased in favour of the big multinationals.

An indispensable condition of its operation is for it to have a hegemonic presence in the apparatus of domination that comprise the State, or that in some manner articulate its action, and so are fundamental centres of power: Government, Bank of Italy, Confindustria, Mass Media....whose specific task it is, however, that of looking for and carrying out the most balanced, the least contradictory mediation between the dominant capitalist interests and those particular to the area.

It can be seen at once that the advancement of the imperialist bourgeoisie and its personnel is not a linear process. Actually this new bureaucracy is already struggling to occupy key points of the State and to kick those whose interests conflict with their own, i.e. those of other bourgeois fractions, out of strategic positions whenever the chance arises. In our area, for example, we can see today the formation of a political personnel closely linked with the imperialist circles. Although concentrated in one party (Christian Democrats - DC) they are present hegemonically in all other parties of the so-called constitutional sector (certainly from the Italian Communist Party - PCI - to the Italian Fascist Party - MSI); trying to push its way into all the fundamental centres of power.

We can also see that the victory of this personnel is naturally of the bourgeois fraction whose representation it is; definitely a process devoid of contradiction, but a deadly struggle between bourgeois sharks.

The assertion of the total interest of imperialism thus passes through a transitory phase, in which the different bourgeois forces coexist but come to blows, as one element inside the crises of the State. But this crises tormenting the State does not push it in an absolute way towards its disintegration, rather to its reconstruction instead. This crises/restructuring ten-



1974 Kidnapping of Judge Mario Sossi.
"Attacking the heart of the State"

dency shows that the principle contradiction for the revolutionary movement is that which puts in immediate opposition to the system of imperialist power on a world scale. To confront this contradiction, therefore, means to enter the field of prolonged class war.

The central and strategic force in the imperialist management of the State is, in Italy, Christian Democracy. This is the way we must interpret the fierce struggle going on inside it, and the so-called process of 'renewal'. The identity crises that the DC is suffering, particularly since June '75, is determined by two simultaneous processes: crises - the restructuring of the global strategy of the Imperialist

States - on the one hand; and on the other, the demand for power by the Italian proletariat, expressed in various ways, both by its revisionist and revolution political components.

In the framework of strategic unity between the imperialist States, the major powers at the head of the hierarchial chain demand that the DC function as the national political pole of counter-revolution; but because of the way it is actually structured, it turns out to be largely unsuitable for this task. Therefore it has to be RENEWED...which is to say, it must be clearly redefined as the efficient NATIONAL BRANCH of the biggest multinational crime syndicate that the world has ever known.

Only through a DC that is redefined in the above way can the Nation-State be changed back into an efficient link in the imperialist chain. Only in this way can there be imposed the political-economic ferocity, the deep transformations of the institutions into an openly repressive function, that are demanded by its partners in the chain.

The plumb line for all these complex operations is thus the foreign politics of the USA, of the FRG, and of the fundamental motive centres of imperialism (IMF, EEC, NATO....), in the sense that the DC must be made the promoter of an internal politics that can be no more than a direct function of the 'foreign' policies of those countries and centres.

Besides, lets not forget that Capital is also conscious that its own contradictions are no longer cyclic; that in this phase of its development its aim is survival. Its some time now since bourgeois science discovered the theories of 'zero growth'. Unsolvable contradictions in the economic sphere lead to the search for 'independence' of the socio-political order, by giving power to the apparati of domination in the form of a counter-revolutionary 'preventative war'. That is to say: the State becomes the 'Subject of politics', as the RAF comrades have asserted. But it's not necessary to see this as an attempt to wipe out social contradictions, as the repression-pathway

mechanism to a new phase of development; rather, it is the the containment of contradictions by wiping out every attempt to recompose the class conflict on an antagonistic programme.

The laws of unequal development, in certain areas of the imperialist chain (like Italy, must put the repercussions of the intensity of social conflict into a new perspective, reducing its economic weight.

In this perspective the use of deflationary mechanisms, while not showing signs of regaining control, must on the other hand define the limits for an attack on the economic/social conditions of a minor part of the population, the least privileged.

In this picture also, armed struggle has to be ghettoized, confined to an endemic phenomenon as, for example, the spontaneous expression of marginalisation - a struggle which sees no further than the civil national apparati (productive, administrative, party institutional), those of the preventative imperialist war.

To quote Schmidt: "Between anarchy and reaction there is a lot of space for something cautious", explaining about Italy, Japan and Germany that "in no part of the free world, since the '30s and '40s, has the wear and tear on morale and authority been so great as in these countries....we need a great deal of time for these values to regain credibility."

THE RIGID CENTRALISATION OF STATE STRUCTURES UNDER EXECUTIVE CONTROL

The rigid centralisation of vital centres of the State into the hands of the imperialist bourgeoisie through the bureaucracy is a necessary condition for its restructuring: only in this way can the tensions particular to the area be controlled and resolved, subordinating them inside the global imperialist plan. For this reason, we witness the progressive displacement of Parliamentary power and the reinforcement of that of the Executive in the different Nation-States.

In Bourgeois-Constitutional States, Parliament is the institutional seat where the synthesis between the

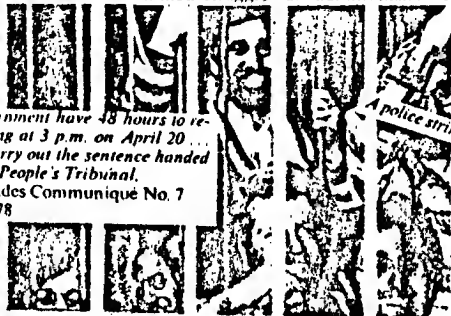


plant in Turin last week, a loudspeaker on the roof of an abandoned car spattered out another message from the Red Brigades. "The trial of Aldo Moro goes on," said a tape-recorded voice. "Join us in the armed struggle for Communism." The

security
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continue
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and its government have 48 hours to respond starting at 3 p.m. on April 20... or we will carry out the sentence handed down by the People's Tribunal.

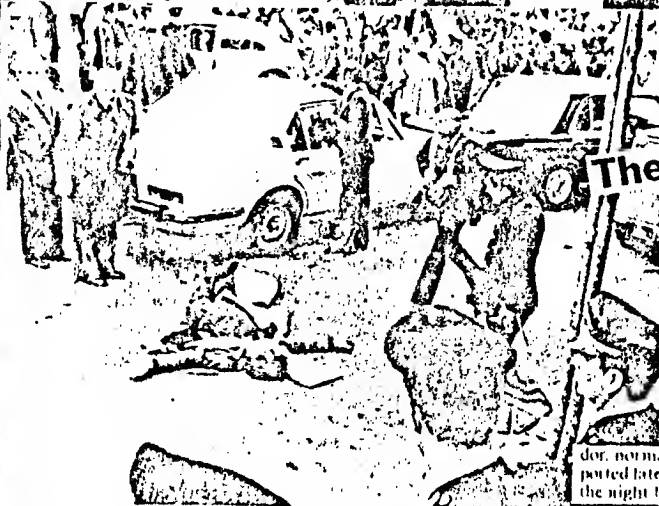
— Red Brigades Communiqué No. 7
April 20, 1978



curly wing of Turin's central prison, the terrorists cheered and sang "The Internationale." "The state is on its knees," cried Curcio. "We have won." In fact, victory for the Red Brigades was



Red Brigades enjoy considerable support from left-wing organizations in Italy.



efficiency,
the ambush
for about 30
the scene w

The Terror

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ported later that his fire
the night before, the ter

different particular interests of the area is asserted, by means of 'struggle' between the parties that express them. But this makes it less 'governable' by imperialism, hence not an efficient instrument to apply its politics.

Meanwhile the Executive, to the extent that it is directly controlled and formed by imperialist political personnel, is able to carry out this task much more efficiently.

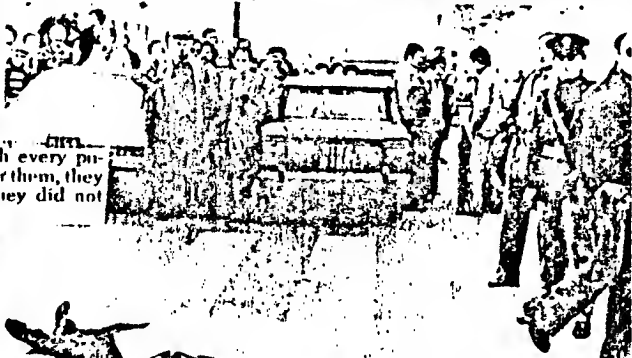
So we see a reversal of roles: no longer is the State the expression of different parties, as in the liberal-democratic tradition, but now the parties are to be 'expressions' of the State; the Executive is no longer the political expression of relations of force within Parliament, but the 'foreign' instrument of imperialist bourgeois interest in the national area. The State, that is, now uses the parties, revitalising them through public finance, and using them to mobilize and organize the masses inside its own politics.

The establishment of the Imperialist State therefore accomplishes, in depth, the process of statalizzazione of society, and as Ulrike Meinhof wrote:

".... in the complete penetration of all relations of imperialism through the market, and by the process of statalizzazione of society through the repressive and ideological State apparati, there exists neither a place nor a time where you can say, this is where I begin."

But at the same time the global character itself, totalitarian and totaliser of this domination, creates an irretrievable split between 'apparati' and 'civil society', developing opposition to each other in their antagonistic interests. From the point of view of proletarian struggles, the statalizzazione of society therefore constitutes, against its will, a powerful factor unifying and simplifying interventions, and sharpening their revolutionary and anti-imperialist character.

"Communiqué No. 2" almost simultaneously in Rome, Milan, Turin and Genoa. The 1,700-word message, a ram-



official. "Even with every person in Italy searching for them, they to operate as if they did not worry in the world."



BRIGATE

recruited for "armed propaganda."

of it, shouting to the courtroom, "Moro is in the hands of the proletariat, and he will be tried. Long live the Red Brigades!" The defendants refused to cooperate with



Striking Italy's H

ROSSE

Minutes before 1, all telephones in blocks around were knocked out

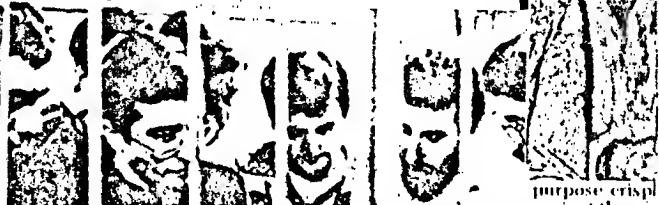
conducted in a deep hideout in Rome, was the "People's" Moro. This, according to a message that was left atop photo booth in the center of

orists Declare War

la Repubblica

the execution of Moro as an act of "revolutionary justice." Renato

Moro assassinato?



on the corner, reds had been slashed terrorists clearly had

The week began with yet another of the terrorists' communiqués, this one demanding the release of 13 leftist prisoners in exchange for Moro. Among those

purpose: crisp war against the hawks of the wave war again which protect

REFORMISM AND ANNIHILATION ARE INTEGRAL FORMS OF PREVENTATIVE COUNTERREVOLUTION

Since with the formation of the Imperialist State the antagonistic character of class contradiction is revealed through and through, sharpened moreover by the contradiction between the global interests of imperialism and those specific to the area (inter-imperialist contradictions), there is a need for the forms and instruments of domination to be reinforced and refined to the highest level. Learning from past and present struggles of the people on a planetary scale, aware of its strategic weakness and the tactical strength it receives from this enormous apparatus, the imperialist bourgeoisie aims at the one target that can prolong its survival: to prevent and wipe out revolution before it is arrayed in all its strength, while mobilising all its forces inside one vital strategic project. - preventative counter-revolution.

By reformism, small concessions to the metropolitan 'aristocracy', it tries to block proletarian struggle before it reaches emergency level, by winning it back and reinserting it inside its own 'development'; it simultaneously pacifies neutral areas and goes on to wipe out all those parts of the proletariat that it cannot 'buy off' or put back inside its own development.

Reformism is never separate from annihilation. It is not a different thing. Reformism is NOT working class politics, but the politics of the Imperialist State against the metropolitan proletariat.

Thus the Imperialist State of the Multinationals takes the form of a reformist-repressive structure, highly integrated and centralized. On the one hand there are peaceful instruments, whose purpose it is to ensure the consent of the masses: institutional parties, unions, mass media....on the other the military instruments, whose purpose is annihilation: special squads, special courts, special prisons - i.e. strength through generalized repression. Both sets of instruments function and co-exist as parts of the same politics. Both are forms of the same State.

the goal of the Red Brigades' attack against what they called "the heart of the state" was the destruction of that accommodation and the fomenting of chaos that would lead to civil war. Moro was seized

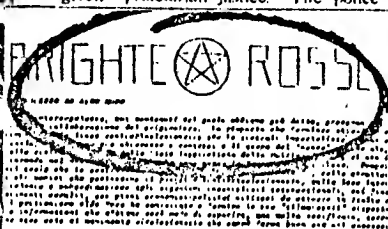
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nist "the im-
ationals" In



It did claim that Moro was being "interrogated" and warned that he would be given "proletarian justice." The police

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Agrim Red Brigades



communicé continues the terror
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E dell'ufficio crinale e a solo per dining
a tiratura presente le responsabilità (che
"We therefore conclude the battle
began on March 16 by carrying
out the verdict to which Aldo Moro was
condemned."

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s Tribunal" of
Red Brigades
an automatic
the city alone

That chilling statement at the end of
the Red Brigades' "Communique No. 9"

Moro was kidnaped on March 16, other
Red Brigades members have killed a pris
on police officer in Turin, a police officer
in Milan, and wounded a former mayor
in Turin and an industrialist in Genoa

According to police, the Red Brigades
have only about 700 to 800 members.
They can count on the support or com-
plicity of about 10,000 sympathizers, most
of them unemployed youths and students.
Despite their relatively small numbers, al-

v: "Wage war
payers; wage
Fascists and
e employers,
just the state
s both." Its

those on trial were militant Red Bri-
gades members who assumed "collect-
ively and in entirety responsibility for
every one of its past, present and future
actions." The kidnap-murder of former

The co-existence of the reformist-repressive functions next undergoes qualitative changes, according to the phase of the economic cycle; these have a certain importance, but not such as to damage the substance of the Imperialist State.

Thus in the phase of economic expansion the Imperialist State shows mainly the humanitarian, peaceful face of reformism, still hiding its teeth of steel. In this phase peace rules, but it is an 'armed peace'. In the phase of economic crises, on the other hand, it takes arms above all else, and the State/Society relation is increasingly militarized. But the Imperialist State doesn't therefore renounce the use of reformism. Now, though, having lost its material base, it is transformed into 'pure ideology', tending to take the on the function of 'controlling the masses', of 'anti-proletarian police'

In this phase, the clash between revolution and counter-revolution gets more and more generalized, so leading to a new phase: WAR!

The process of preventative counter-revolution which characterises the movement of the imperialist bourgeoisie in this phase, compels the revolutionary forces to elaborate anew the strategy for taking power and, therefore, principals and organizational forms as well.

Because reformism and annihilation are co-existent functions of the Imperialist State, there is no longer a political phase separate from the military one: only by bearing arms is it possible to work on the political level in the class confrontation. The insurrectionist strategy, stemming from the IIIrd International, leaves the stage of history; guerilla war comes on - prolonged class war.

In that phase that we have called 'armed peace', (that is in the expansion phase of the cycle where the use of reformist structures dominates over more openly repressive ones), armed propaganda is the prevalent tactic for the revolutionary forces. In the phase of 'war', (i.e. in the crises phase of the cycle, where

instruments to repress and wipe out antagonistic class behaviours are dominant), the practice of revolutionary civil war takes over.

PROLETARIAN VIOLENCE AND IMPERIALIST COUNTERREVOLUTION

In this phase of history, at this point of the crises, the only politics with a real possibility to confront and resolve the antagonistic contraction between metropolitan proletariat and imperialist bourgeoisie is the practice of revolutionary violence.

In this phase, through the initiative of the revolutionary vanguard, class struggle takes the form of war. This fact prevents the enemy 'normalising the situation' - regaining tactical victory over the movement of struggle of the last ten years, over its needs and the perspectives and hopes that it has generated.

The words of Habash (Leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine) are important:

...the inability to destroy the revolution in a particular phase is, in itself, a victory for the revolution. In this way the politics of violence is crystallised as a mass *mobilisation*, accelerating and deepening the process through which the Party is formed...becoming progressively more intense until it secures an overwhelming victory over the enemy.

Certainly, we Want war!

We are also aware of the fact that the practice of revolutionary violence compels the enemy to confront it, forces it to shift, to live in a state of war: however, we intend to make the counter-revolution emerge, to dig it out from the nooks and crannies of 'democratic' society where, in better times, it stays comfortably hidden!

But having said that, one point must be made clear - its not us that creates the counter-revolution. That is the actual form taken by imperialism as it develops: not one aspect of it, but its substance. Imper-



Genoa newsman, who insisted his face not be shown, retrieving communiqué from trash bin

ialism is counter-revolution. To make this fundamental truth emerge, through the practice of guerilla war, is a necessary precondition for revolutionary class war in the metropolises.

This fact must be grasped now, because the Imperialist State devotes all its forces to refuting political violence, whatever its political viability. It must be grasped because the the Imperialist State seeks - by direct or indirect methods - to annihilate all those forces that don't absolutely exclude from their methods of struggle any possible resort to forms of revolutionary violence. The

Imperialist State would like to impose a social order that presupposes the general, preventative reduction of human beings to 'things', in a society of things, ruled in all its areas by the laws of capitalist commerce.

An impossible order, of suppression of contradictions, of purely quantitative development, of unchangeability, of death!

Like a beautiful actress at the turning point of years and fortune, it wants to halt the path of time and fix the course of history....but that, for all its power, is quite impossible.

Instead, the irony of history: the more the laws of capital assert themselves, becoming general and absolute in every nook and cranny of social life, the more they make the 'quality of life' unbearable, generating new needs for liberation, more radical movements of struggle.

This, then, is the contradiction carrying the imperialist bourgeoisie toward defeat, unable either to permit or tolerate antagonistic contradictions and class behaviours; able to see them only as 'criminal deviations', 'terrorism', 'irrational rebellion', or to use a different definition by the Ministry 'signs of ideological madness'.

The unacceptable demand of the imperialist bourgeoisie therefore makes its recitation in this framework - if opposition to the regime is to be 'political', to be legitimate and tolerable, it must not take the form of outright antagonism. Opposition, that is, must stay confined within the magic circle drawn by their laws, their conventions and their 'normal' codes of behaviour. The alternative is - criminal!

To further complete this demand, the concept of political crime, always rejected by liberal democracy, has lost all space to resist. It becomes a contradiction in terms - maybe the two parts that make up the concept are not absolutely incompatible? As good as saying that political acts, while they remain inside the laws, treaties, codes and conventions cannot be crimes. But when not so confined, they are criminal.

It must be clear enough that if this thesis were accepted by subordinate classes it would automatically mean their eternal subordination to the domination to the imperialist bourgeoisie. But in reality, no chance - this thesis-limit is historically impossible, inasmuch as the capitalist mode of production can never halt the development of the productive forces, and thus the rise of contradictions determining the nature of the revolutionary confrontation.

A NEW PROLETARIAN FIGURE - THE POLITICAL CRIMINAL

The contradictory nature of this concept of political criminal does not, as it might appear at first sight, lead to its removal. The aim of imperialist bourgeoisie is not really to degrade revolutionary militants by criminalizing their actions to the low level of common crimes. Rather, they want to 'carry out a deep process of criminalizing the political struggle, defining as

criminals not just revolutionaries, not just comrades struggling (armed or not) against multinational capital - but all those who stray from the ever more rigid legal code, who behave differently to the Bourgeoisie'. But the operation, still more complex and evil, is not yet clearly defined. It might be true that the revolutionary militants, whose actions are defined as criminal, get punished for these 'crimes'; but what is more true is that by making claim to being at war with the State, they get special punishment and special treatment: criminals, yes, but special criminals:

This means the same as 'absolute criminal', 'anarcho-nihilist' or 'terrorist'. But if these are the terms preferred by the specialists in war psychology, the political figure they delineate is much more clearly defined for the repressive apparat: it is the enemy in our midst.

The political 'status' of the enemy in our midst, denied in words, is acknowledged perfectly well in the manner of differential treatment. Defined thus - firstly by what you are and only in the second instance by what you have done. The central demand of the imperialist bourgeoisie is no longer 'what have you done?' but 'who are you?'. Your identity is what interests them above all else, it is this they have to destroy. Different treatment in all its phases (struggle, trial, prison) aims precisely at this: to liquidate your identity.

Political identity for the revolutionary militant first of all means party. It is within the principals, strategy, programme, discipline of the Party that they autonomously and freely identify themselves.

This proletarian inheritance is asserted in the class war. It comes to be recognized by the people, because the revolutionary Party is the highest expression of the maturity, the consciousness and organization of the class. In the collective action of the Party the communist fighter asserts his identity; in denying this dimension by division, social isolation and ultimately physical annihilation, the imperialist pig tries to destroy it:

The experts in counter-revolutionary warfare reduce collective action to the sum of individual behaviours, separating them from each other and from their motivation; thus trying to destroy them the capability to represent a message. Criminalizing them, psychologizing them, wounding them so as to destroy them. The experts in counter-revolutionary warfare deny organized proletarian antagonism all right to existence, mutating the militants into one criminal unity with neither history nor political depth.

Instead of criminalization we should talk about political genocide, for that is the most basic essence of the imperialist counter-revolution. But this attack on individual militants, individualizing and divisive though it is, can never - only from a tactical point of view - manage to win a real victory over the Party as the collective consciousness of the class. Paradoxically, in fact, as imperialist counter-revolution spews forth its violence, revolutionary strength matures; the dimension of the Party, which signifies the action of each and every militant,



slips through its hands; while successfully destroying individual militants, it never achieves the strategic destruction of the Party.

At the point of greatest counter-revolutionary strength, imperialism reveals its own bankruptcy and weakness!

REACTIONARY MOBILISATION OF THE MASSES THROUGH THE MASS MEDIA

The worker must always understand that the bourgeois newspaper (whatever its shade of opinion) is an instrument of struggle motivated by ideas and interests that are in opposition to his own. All that they print is influenced by one fixed idea - to serve the dominant class, which translates into one fact - fight the working class.

Thus wrote Gramsci in Avanti in 1916.

The bourgeois press has always had this function, but now it has made a qualitative leap. The actual political direction of the information organization has been centralized, directly taken over by the Executive of the Imperialist State.

The RAI, the main dailies and weeklies, have truly become agencies for the press office of the Interior Ministry, and the journalists who manage the government copy inspiring counter-revolutionary action are truly agents of it. But total control of the press must not be equated with censorship, which is just one aspect of it. The press organs are assigned an active role, organic and necessary to the strategy of the multinational, an integral part of the restructuring of the State.

This is how Willy Brandt explains the function of mass media in the Imperialist State !

"...to immunise society against revolution, by a calm and decisive representation of the normal situation". And in the same vein, "criminal nihilism can be fought with greater efficiency if fear doesn't become the subject of political and journalistic calculation."

And Andreotti holds the same point of view. He has actually declared that "journalists can be a great help in cleaning up minds".

The thesis is very explicit: militarise the means of mass communication and their technicians, recruit-



LORENA D'URSO

Lorena D'Urso, reading a statement prepared by the Red Brigades over Italian national television as part of the conditions demanded by the guerillas for the release of her husband, Judge D'Urso. The December 1980 kidnapping ended with the release of the Judge, unharmed.

ing them as agents of war psychology under the direction of the Executive.

Horrifying, but completely in line with the directives of the TRILATERAL COMMISSION. According to the brains of imperialism, in fact "freedom of the press" is OK, but only in modest doses. The possibility of "abuses" means that the State needs to "assure the right and the possibility of denying information at source... regulating the professional values of journalists and...in exceptional cases also to apply whatever preventive repressions are considered necessary".

In the Imperialist State, where family and school, in an accelerating rhythm, lose a large part of their traditional integrational function, mass communications are openly used as basic instruments for the socialisation of the masses (ie. in the transmission of fundamental values and models of behavior). For this, the question of their control therefore has basic importance.

The "formative function" (formative of consensus on the politics of the Executive) tends to subordinate all the others, and the "formative fun-

ction" is reduced to constructing, chapter by chapter little stories to administer like a tranquiliser pill to the masses, who are robbed of all control and all alternatives.

The reassuring liquidation of antagonistic class behaviours in the mass media, and also indirectly of the forces that show their own reaction through them, is the necessary prelude to their violent liquidation through the action of the 'special bodies'.

The "political function" of the mass media is thus to build a permanent mobilisation of the masses, in a reactionary way; to make proletarian layers identify with the most repressive provisions that the State puts into operation; to organise consensus regarding the physical liquidation of the "enemy in our midst".

In the modern editorial offices of the big newspapers, where everyday the class confrontation is composed and recomposed in line with goals of imperialist domination, sit the new counter-guerilla technologists, the specialists in psychological warfare, the agents of counter-revolutionary violence, who pave the way for the special squads' killers. They are the makers of 'monsters', walking in modern war of those who wipe out revolutionary militants. In these editorial offices the so-called 'low profile' strategies, indirect interventions against the proletarian movement, take shape; they are concretised in 'psychological operations' aiming to influence the attitudes of the proletariat, to conquer them 'heart and mind', discredit the guerilla, encourage divisions inside them, insinuate suspicion, destroy morale.

- RED BRIGADES 1975

BUILD THE ARMED RESISTANCE

